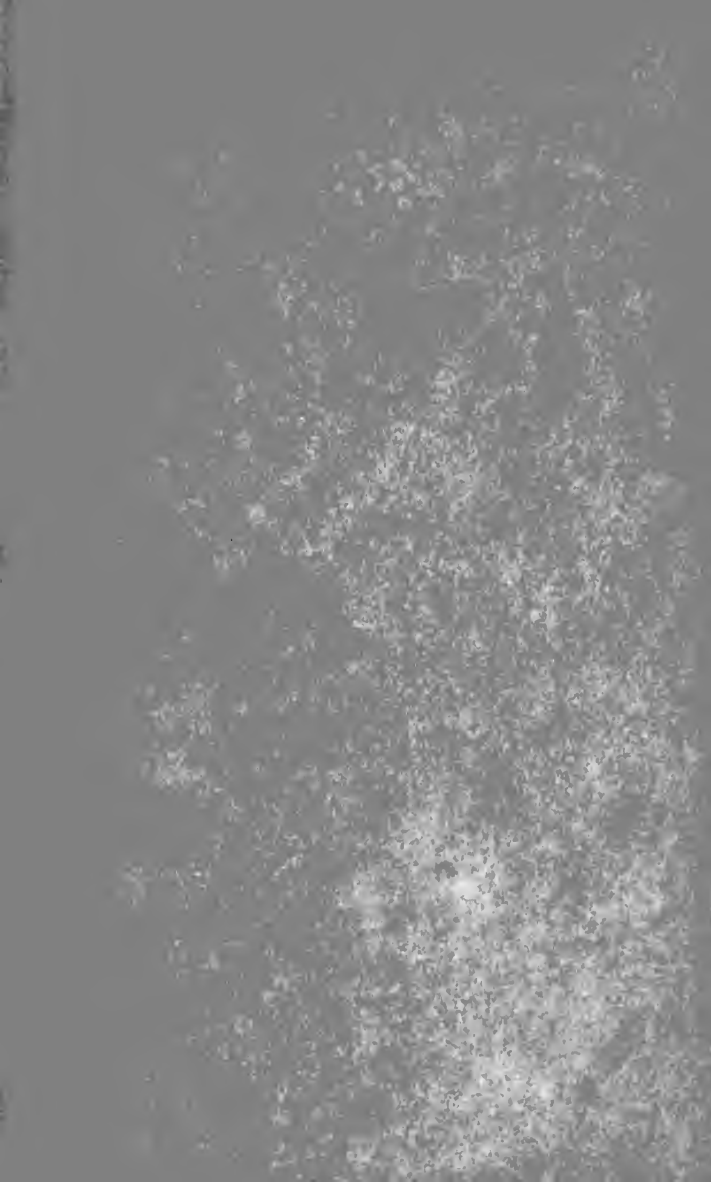




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O R I G I N A L A U T H O R S .

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

V O L. XVII.



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S E V E N T E E N T H V O L U M E .

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THE
MODERN PART
OF
Universal History.

CHAP. LXV. *Continued.*

The History of Spain.

SECT. VII. *Continued.*

The History of the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon, from the Accession of St. Ferdinand to the Union of all the Christian Monarchies in Spain, except Portugal, in the Persons of their Catholic Majesties Ferdinand and Isabella.

DON HENRY, the third of that name, king of Castile, was but five days more than ten years old at the demise of his father, and succeeded him without any hesitation or disturbance; though this, like all calms at court, more especially in minorities, was of very short duration. The late king had a numerous family of women to maintain, and this charge descended upon his son. These were Donna Leonora, queen-dowager of Portugal; her daughter Donna Beatrix, queen-dowager of Castile; another Donna Leonora, queen of Navarre, the late king's sister, who, with her two daughters, had retired into Castile, under pretence that the air of Navarre did not agree with them,

King Henry III. ascends the throne, when just entered on the eleventh year of his age.

MOD. VOL. XVII. B and

and would not return, though strongly solicited by the king her husband; and the queen consort, though as yet the marriage was not complete; to which we may add Donna Constantia, duchess of Lancaster, who had likewise a large annuity. In order to keep things quiet, it was found necessary to call the princes of the blood to court, and to gratify them with great places and pensions. These were Don Frederick, duke of Benavente, the natural son of king Henry the Second, and uncle to the late king; Don Pedro count of Trastamara, who was the son of the infant Don Frederick, grand master of the order of St. James, who had been barbarously murdered by the king Don Pedro; Don Alonso de Arragon, marquis de Villena, and Don Alonso count of Gijon, the king's uncle, then a prisoner, soon after released: to say nothing of the children of the king Don Pedro, or of the infant Don Juan of Portugal, who were likewise prisoners, and maintained at the expence of the state^a. The duke de Benavente was no sooner at court than he meditated a marriage which alarmed the young king and his ministers very much. The lady upon whom he fixed his eyes was also a princess of the blood, Donna Leonora, daughter of the infant Don Sancho, and, by far, the richest heiress in Castile. The only method that could be thought of to prevent this match was to contract the countess, with her own consent, to the king's brother, the infant Don Ferdinand; with a proviso that, if the king should die before he was of age to consummate his own marriage, the contract should be void, and the infant at liberty to espouse the queen^b. Some disputes there were about settling a regency: it was surmised that the king had left a will, and at length that will was found: but the contents of it being disapproved, it was ordered to be burnt, the execution of which order, was prevented by the archbishop of Toledo, on account of some legacies that were given to his church. At length a council of regency was formed by common consent, consisting of the duke de Benavente, the count de Trastamara, the marquis de Villena, the archbishops of Toledo and Compostella, the grand-masters of St. James and Calatrava, and sixteen deputies from the principal towns: though this regency was approved and established by authority of the states,

^a *Alfonso a Carthagina Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.*
^b *Chron. del Rey Don Henrique III.*

yet, before the end of the year, the archbishop of Toledo withdrew from court, declared against them, and drew the duke de Benavente into his measures.

The regents laboured all they could to bring this prelate into their measures, but in vain; upon which they removed the court to Segovia, and gave the title of constable to Don Pedro count of Trastamara. At length, through the mediation of the queen of Navarre, things were brought to an accommodation, the states were assembled at Burgos, where the principles of the late king's will were adopted, a new regency framed, and a great deal of public money very prudently bestowed in pensions to preserve the public peace. Though the duke de Benavente had all the reason in the world to be satisfied, and a variety of alterations had been made for that reason solely, yet he still persisted in his intrigues; in consequence of which he formed a project of marrying a natural daughter of the king of Portugal, with whom he was to have a large sum in ready money; and the protection of the king besides. To balance this advantage the council of regency offered him the like sum of money to decline that marriage, and upon this consideration the duke was brought to suspend it.

The duke de Benavente's intrigues perplex the queen and the regency.

A.D. 1391.

A.D. 1392.

This disjointed state of affairs in Castile, gave its neighbours many opportunities of doing mischief. The Moors of Granada made a sudden irruption, in breach of the truce which Joseph the son and successor of Mohammed had made with the young king, and carried away a great booty; but the Castilians attacked them in their retreat so judiciously, and with so much vigour, that they recovered all they had taken. This action, together with some spirited measures taken against the duke de Benavente, induced the king of Portugal to let fall some very haughty and unreasonable articles, upon which he had insisted in respect to a truce, but which he at length thought proper to conclude for fifteen years, upon condition that some of the principal lords would sign it within a limited time; of these the duke of Benavente, the count of Trastamara, and the count of Gijon, refused to comply. The regency, suspecting the archbishop of Toledo of a design to excite fresh troubles, caused him to be arrested; but, upon his giving them proper assurances, he was quickly

Wearied with perpetual contrivances to disturb the regency, the king assumes the administration.

^c Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. Rod. Santii Hist. Hisp. part iv. ^d Chronica de los Moros de Hispan. Brandaon. Ferreras.

released. The king being now within two months of thirteen complete, and of a capacity far beyond his age, assumed the government, held an assembly of the states at Madrid, and, having confirmed the privileges of Biscay, and done other necessary and popular acts, he set out for Toledo, where he caused the obsequies of his father to be performed in his presence with great solemnity*. He next celebrated his marriage with the princess Catherine of Lancaster, and his brother Don Ferdinand at the same time espoused the countess of Albuquerque. These salutary steps being taken, he curtailed those exorbitant pensions which the regency had been obliged to give to the princes and princesses of the royal family; for he was thoroughly tinged with his father's maxim, that kings were to be the fathers of their people, and were not to impoverish a nation to enrich their families†.

A.D. 1393.

*All the
princes and
princesses of
the blood
concur in
opposing the
king's mea-
sures.*

But the princes and princesses of the blood were very unwilling to learn this lesson, which they understood to be a most crying act of injustice with respect to them. They retired to their respective estates, and began to cabal as usual. The king finding the archbishop of Toledo a very sensible man, and ready to give him good advice, when his own interests were well secured, gratified him in that particular, and took him into his confidence. He then sent the marshal of Castile to the queen of Navarre, the duke of Benavente, and the rest of the malecontents, to let them know that what he had done was by the advice of his states; and that, when the times were better, they might expect better provisions. This had no great effect, for as yet they did not know the king, whom a strange affair had drawn, in the midst of those disputes, from Castile to the city of Toledo (A). By the middle of summer

* Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Alfonso a Carthazena Reg. Hispan. Anacephaleosis. † Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. Francisci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan.

(A). The occasion of the king's journey to Toledo would have been too great a digression, if we had given it a place in the text; and yet it seems a point of too great importance to be totally neglected, for which reason we have placed it here. Amongst the lords of Portugal,

who followed the party of the king of Castile, was Don Martin Yanez de la Barbuta, who was treasurer of the military order of Avis in that kingdom, a person of great courage, and esteemed one of the ablest officers of his time. The king, in reward of his fidelity, pro-
cured

mer he was on his return, and the marquis de Villena met him at Ilescas with a hundred lances. The king received him

cured his election to the office of grand-master of Alcantara, which gave him at once, title, rank, and a large revenue. There dwelt not far from Alcantara, in a desert part of the country, an hermit, whose name was Juan Sago, who had acquired a reputation of sanctity; this man addressed himself to the grand-master, affirming, he had a revelation, that if he would attack the Moors, merely as enemies to the gospel, and without any secular views, he should drive them out of Spain; and this without the loss of a man. The grand-master was weak enough to credit this, and sent two of his esquires to challenge the king of Granada, offering to fight him alone, or with any number of troops he would appoint, allowing him two to one, in defence of the Gospel against the Koran. The king of Granada rejected the proposition, and put the persons who brought it into prison. The king, Don Henry, hearing that he was raising forces, sent for the grand-master, to put him in mind of his duty, and of the truce that subsisted between the two crowns. This had no effect: his hermit persuaded him to assemble an army; and, upon a promise of their being invulnerable, this was easily done; so that in a short time he had a body of three thousand, some writers say, five thousand foot, and about three hundred lances, all men of family, and tried

courage. Upon his arrival with these forces at Cordova, the inhabitants were inclined to have disputed the passage of their bridge, which at length, however, they declined. On his arrival at Alcala, Don Alonso Fernandez de Cordova, lord of Aguilar, with his brother Don Diego, met him, and used all possible arguments to dissuade him from this rash enterprise, but to no purpose. When he entered the territory of Granada he attacked a small fort, where he lost three men, and was himself wounded in the hand; upon this he reproached the hermit, who retorted his reproaches, by telling him, that the promise he made him did not regard pillaging small places, but rendering the truth of religion visible by the defeat of the Infidels, in a decisive battle. These altercations were hardly over, when the king of Granada appeared at the head of five thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty thousand foot. The Christians were presently surrounded, and the fight, or rather the slaughter began. Some say that the infantry were intimidated, and endeavoured to make their escape; others, that they behaved bravely. About fifteen hundred returned, twelve hundred were made prisoners, and the rest killed. As for the three hundred lances, they had no thoughts of retreating: the grand-master disposed them in the best order imaginable; gave the highest

him kindly, but insisted upon his subscribing the truce with Portugal, to which demand he assented^a. The king proceeded to Valladolid with an army; and understanding that the malecontents had entered into a league, and were all armed, he proceeded with caution.

*He persists
in his own
resolution,
and tri-
umphs glo-
riously over
them all.*

It is very remarkable that this young king, foreseeing that whatever he did would be ascribed to the archbishop of Toledo, if he was with him, left him behind, and this measure was of the utmost consequence. The archbishop of Compostella, hearing that his competitor was absent, came readily to his sovereign and was reconciled. The king then granted a safe-conduct to the duke de Benavente, who submitted to the terms that the king prescribed^b. The king then dismissed the greatest part of his forces; and the duke did the same. The count de Trastámara followed the duke's example, first demanded a safe-conduct, and then made his terms with the king. He insisted upon the restitution of a place that had been taken from him by the count of Gijon, and the king promised him justice. The name of this place was Paredes de Nava, which the king sequestered, allowing sixty days to the count de Gijon to make out his title. While the king

^a Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III.
Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

^b Rod. Santii

proofs of his skill and experience in the art of war; but, in the end, after wonderful instances of valour, he fell, covered with wounds, and with him all that glorious body of cavalry, who were thus offered as victims to his credulity and their own. At the request of the Christians, the Moors permitted them to search for and carry away his body, which was buried in the church of our lady, at Alcantara, under a tomb, with this inscription, by his own order: "*Hic situs est Martinus Yanez, in omni periculo experti timoris animo*, Here lies Martin Yanez, on whose mind the sight of the greatest danger could never impress a sense of fear." When

this history was told the emperor, Charles the Fifth, he answered, smiling, and yet I dare say this grand-master would not have snuffed out a lighted flambeau with his fingers. It was this unfortunate affair that brought the king of Castile to Toledo, where he began to assemble his troops, from an apprehension that the Moors would attack his dominions; but upon his acquainting the king of Granada that it was an act of temerity in a single man, which he could not either foresee or prevent, and ought not to be considered as a breach of the truce, that monarch answered, that he was of the same sentiment; and so this affair was blown over.

was thus employed, the count de Trastamara went to visit the queen of Navarre, at her request, and by the advice of the duke of Benavente, that they might take their measures together. The king being informed of this intrigue, after his arrival at Burgos, caused the duke to be arrested, and seized all his places. He afterwards reduced Roa, where the queen of Navarre had taken shelter, and made her a prisoner likewise. He marched next in person into the Asturias; and understanding that the count of Gijon had taken possession of Oviedo, with a body of troops, he attacked and put the best part of them to the sword. He then invested Gijon, which the count had fortified with great industry, and in which he had a numerous garrison. While he remained there, he summoned the count de Trastamara to join him with his forces, who, though he was not without apprehensions, obeyed. The king received him kindly, pardoned all that was past, and gave him part of the lands of the duke of Benavente. The winter drawing on, the count de Gijon offered to submit his dispute with king Henry to the king of France, a proposal which was accepted; but care was taken that no supplies should be put into the place ¹.

A.D. 1394.

The king carried his aunt, the queen of Navarre, with the two princesses her daughters, to the frontiers of that kingdom; and, having taken her husband's oath that he should live kindly with her, sent her home ^k. The marriage was now celebrated between the infant Don Ferdinand and Leonora, countess of Albuquerque. The French monarch having decided that Alonso, count of Gijon, had forfeited all his lands for rebellion, the king returned to the siege of the castle, which was defended by the countess, who offered to surrender, if the king would restore her son, who was in his hands, as a hostage. The king consented to this demand, and as soon as the castle was in his hands demolished it. He returned through Castile, to pass the winter at Seville, where he renewed the truce with the king of Granada, and suppressed the factions that disturbed the peace of the city and kingdom of Murcia. The Portuguese, having corrupted an officer entrusted with the care of one of the gates of Badajoz, surprised that place, and attempted Albuquerque, in which

Resolves to enter into a war with Portugal with all his force.

A.D. 1395.

¹ Alphonso a Carthagena Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæsis. Chronica del Rey Don. Henrique III. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Mariana. Ferreras. ^k Francisci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III.

they failed. The king, Don Henry, resolved to revenge this affront, and made great preparations for that purpose by land and sea. The king of Portugal sent ambassadors to pacify him, but he ordered them to depart his dominions, and prosecuted his resentment with great violence, which gave some of the Portuguese nobility, who were much disgusted with the king, an opportunity of retiring into Castile^x. Joseph, king of Granada, dying,

A.D. 1396.

Mohammed, his son and successor, went, as some writers say, in person, to the court of Castile, and renewed the truce: the Portuguese having recovered from their consternation, made an irruption into Castile, with some effect; and, on the other hand, the Castilians defeated the Portuguese at sea^y.

A.D. 1397.

*Concludes a
ten years
truce with
that
crown, and
humbles
the corsairs
of Bar-
bary.*

The king, Don Henry, being desirous of determining this dispute, levied a tax throughout his whole dominions, and began to make vast military preparations^z. Being desirous of putting an end to the schism which still continued, he resolved to withdraw his obedience from Benedict the Thirteenth, who resided at Avignon; but before pope Boniface, who governed at Rome, could be informed of this design, he endeavoured to take advantage of the war with Portugal, pronounced the king a schismatic, fallen from his crown and dignity, and incapable of governing, and sent a bull to this purpose to the archbishop

A.D. 1398.

of Braga. Next year a negotiation was set on foot between the kings of Castile and Portugal, which ended in a truce for ten years; soon after died Don Pedro Tenorio, archbishop of Toledo, at the age of seventy-five, to whom

A.D. 1399.

the king was much indebted for his advice^a. The corsairs of Barbary being extremely troublesome, the king ordered the fleet that had been prepared against Portugal to clear the seas of those robbers. This service they performed, and taking it to be a proper appendix to their commission, undertook to clear the land also: with this view they landed their forces, and attacked Tetuan, of which they quickly became masters, pillaged it, carried away all the inhabitants, and then burnt it to the ground. There was this year a most violent and destructive plague in Spain, more especially in Andalusia, insomuch that the king was constrained to suspend the law which restrained

^x Ortiz de Zuniga. Chron. de los Moros Hispana. Brandaon. y Faria y Sousa. Chronica de los Moros de Hispana. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

^z Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III. ^a Brandaon.

widows from marrying within a year after the death of their husbands. On the 6th of July, this year, the 1st clock that was ever seen in Spain was erected in Seville. A.D. 1400.

The king, having called an assembly of the states at Tordesillas, made several laws for the benefit of his subjects. As the great point he had in view, in withdrawing his obedience from pope Benedict the Thirteenth, was to put an end to a schism, which, in the present situation of things, proved very detrimental to Christendom in general, and to his own dominions in particular; and perceiving that this step increased the latter, without diminishing the former inconveniency, he acknowledged the same pope again, who thereupon took the advantage of naming his nephew, Don Pedro de Luna, to the archbishoprick of Toledo, upon the lapse of the dean and chapter^b. *Receives an embassy from Timur, or Tamerlan the Great.*

In the course of the same year, the king having heard of the great reputation of Timur Bee, whom the Spanish writers of those times call Tamerlan, he sent two ambassadors to compliment him, and to make him an offer of his friendship^c. As under the reigns of the three last princes the people in general had been treated with great lenity and kindness, their circumstances were much altered, more especially in the great cities; and this wealth proved the source of factions, that were very detrimental to the public peace. In Seville and Cordova especially they were risen to such a height, that the king was forced to interpose, but he did it with such a spirit of equity, as left no room for complaints, and with an air of dignity, which shewed he was not to be moved by clamour^d. The ambassadors of Castile saluted the illustrious emperor of the Tartars, immediately after he had vanquished the whole power of the Ottomans, and taken Bajazet prisoner. He received them very kindly, expressed a proper sense of the compliment paid him, and sent an officer of his household, with rich presents into Spain, to return the civility. The name of this ambassador was Mohammed Acagi, and he brought with him two young ladies, the daughters of a Hungarian count, who had been taken by Bajazet, at the fatal battle of Nicopolis, and were found amongst the spoils upon his defeat. These young ladies, who were exquisitely handsome, and whose names were Donna Maria and Donna Angelina, being thus set at li-

^b Alphonso a Carthageria Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. Rain.

^c Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Francisci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan. Fer.

^d Chronica del Rey Don Henrique III.

berty, were extremely acceptable to the king and queen, and were very soon happily married in Spain. On the 14th of November the queen was delivered of a daughter, named Donna Maria, to the great joy of the king, and of his subjects; and, in the beginning of the next year, the states at Toledo acknowledged, and swore to maintain her title, in case the king left no heir male. The king sent a second embassy to Tamerlan, with letters of thanks, and presents of very considerable value. The infant Don Ferdinand, out of reverence to the blessed Virgin, instituted a new order of knighthood, which he called de la Jarra, that is, of the *jar* or *vase*, because the device was a flower pot filled with white lilies^e.

A.D. 1402.

A.D. 1403.

The king's great frugality founded on the most generous motives.

As the kingdom enjoyed profound peace, the monarch of Castile thought it a proper time to put his plan in execution. He saw, with regret, the finest country in Spain in the hands of the Moors; and they growing infinitely more strong and powerful every day, by that spirit of industry and frugality that reigned amongst them, he saw that a very long and expensive war would be necessary to reduce them. He knew, that how cheerfully soever his people might begin such a war, they would very soon grow weary of the taxes that were necessary to support it; he determined therefore to reduce the expences of his government as much as possible, and, out of his own saving, to heap up a treasure sufficient for this purpose. The king of Grenada, afraid of his great power, and perhaps not altogether ignorant of his scheme, sent two of the principal persons about his court to testify his respect for him, with very rich presents, and, which he esteemed the highest mark of reverence and regard, one of the finest women in his seraglio. The king of Castile received this compliment and his presents very politely, and made him a proper return; but there afterwards grew a suspicion, that the principal end of this embassy was of a very dark nature, as hereafter will appear^f.

A.D. 1404.

After a very long and tedious illness, dies at length of a slow poison.

The king being at Toro in the spring, the queen was there delivered on the 6th of March, of the infant Don Juan^g. He held, soon after, an assembly of the states at Madrid, where some laws were made to moderate the exorbitant usury taken by the Jews, and to oblige them to

^e Rod Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. ^f Chron. del Rey Don Henrique III. Chron. de los Moros de Hispan. ^g Alphonso a Carthagenade Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæzosis. Francisci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan.

wear a mark of distinction upon their garments, and the same time the concubines of priests were forbid to appear in public, without a piece of scarlet cloth or ribbon, tacked to their head drefs. The queen taking advantage of the extreme good humour the king was in, upon the birth of his son, prevailed upon him to fet at liberty Don Pedro and Donna Constantia, the children of her uncle Don Juan, who died a little before, in the castle of Soria, upon a promise that Don Pedro should enter into holy orders. This year he built the royal palace of Madrid, which was burnt some time after. He likewise built the alcazal of Murcia, and was the founder of the pleasant country villa, called Pardo; for he was naturally very magnificent, and frugal only from a principle of public spirit^b. His ambassadors returned the next spring from the court of Tamerlan, and the king was extremely well pleased with the account they gave him of the reception they had met with. On the complaints of the common people, that provisions were grown scarce and dear, the king found it necessary to settle the prices of grain of all sorts, to prevent extortionⁱ. The state of the king's health being better known at Granada than in Castile, the Moors began to break that truce which they had begged with so much seeming humility. Don Henry complained, by his ambassadors, without obtaining redress, and then threatened to seek it by force of arms. By way of reply to this expostulation, the king of Granada marched into the realm of Jaen, and on the 4th of October invested Guezada with an army of four thousand horse, and twenty-five thousand foot: he was not, however, able to take the place; and in two actions that happened this year the Christians had the better^k. The king, Don Henry, hoped the time was come to which Providence had fixed the subversion of the Moorish kingdom; and therefore he directed an assembly of the states to be held at Toledo, with a view to concert measures with them for pouring the whole force of Spain upon the kingdom of Granada; but when the states were assembled, he was too weak to assist in person, and therefore sent his brother, the infant Don Ferdinand, who opened to them at large the king's scheme: While the substance of it was under deliberation, Don Henry breathed his last, about

A.D. 1405.

^b Chron. del Rey Don Henrique III. Marian. Fer. ⁱ Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. Fer. ^k Chronica de los Moros de Hispan.

A.D. 1406. nine in the morning, on Christmas-day, after a lingering illness, which was discovered to be the effects of a slow poison, given him by a Jew physician. His obsequies were performed with all due solemnity, and his subjects in general, but more especially the common people, who rather loved and obeyed him as a parent than a prince, deplored him with tears¹ (F).

*Don
Juan II.
succeeds,
under the
tutelage of
his mother,
and uncle.*

His son, Don Juan, who was but fourteen months old, was recommended particularly to the care of his uncle, Don Ferdinand, who, as soon as the royal funeral was over, went into the assembly of the states, and, in a short speech, desired them to take proper measures for proclaiming their king. Many of the prelates, and some of the nobility, fearing a long minority, and knowing the great abilities of Don Ferdinand, put one of their number upon asking him what king he would have them proclaim? The royal infant was thunderstruck at the insinuation; but

¹ Alphonso a Carthagena Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. Francisci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan.

(F) This monarch was highly commended for the sweetness of his temper, and for his great affability to all ranks of people, in which, however, he lost nothing of his dignity, because it did not arise from any feebleness of mind, much less from timidity. There never was a king of Castile, of whom the nobility stood more in awe than this, because he was entirely beloved by the populace. On the other hand, this affection was not the fruit barely of his indulgence, but arose also from their respect and esteem, founded, in part, upon his strict justice, of which he gave a strong instance in the severity with which he punished the repeated disturbances occasioned by the two factions in the city of Seville; on account of which seditions, there were no less than a thousand persons put to death: yet, he was never suspected of cruelty;

and though he amassed a much greater treasure than any of his predecessors, it was without any imputation of covetousness. His common saying was, that he did not fear the hatred or the arms of his enemies, but the disaffection and curses of his subjects. The Spaniards, who often fancy their kings are poisoned upon very slight, and sometimes without any grounds at all, had no apprehension that this was the cause of Don Henry's death, because he had been infirm for many years; but some time after, certain Jews, who were executed at Segovia, for insults offered to the Christian religion, confessed, that long before he had received a slow poison from a physician of their religion, by which he gradually wasted to the time of his decease.

quickly

quickly recollecting himself, he turned to the marshal, and said, "It is impossible that my nephew should have any competitor; display the standard of the crown immediately for Don Juan II. the only lawful king of Castile and Leon^m." He afterwards caused the late king's will to be read, and then sent it to Segovia, to the queen. By this will the king nominated two gentlemen to have the care of his son's person and education; but the queen being determined not to part with him, caused the gates of Segovia to be shut against the infant Don Ferdinand, from an apprehension that he was come to take away her son: but, on his prevailing upon those two persons to accept of a sum of money, and to make over their claim to the queen, she altered her sentiments, and consented that the young king should be publicly inauguratedⁿ. The states declared the queen and the royal infant regents; and, to prevent all disputes, the dominions of Castile were divided between them^o. Don Ferdinand carried on the war against the Moors with vigour, and in some great actions with success; though the king of Granada, which is almost incredible, brought, more than once, armies of fourscore thousand, and once of one hundred thousand foot, into the field: the fleet of Castile likewise defeated the combined squadrons of Tunis and Tremecen, and prevented their landing any succours to the Moors in Spain; so that the campaign concluded both happily and honourably for the Christians^p. The states granted very considerable supplies for the support of the war; but the king of Granada was early in the field, and undertook the siege of Alcaudeta with a very numerous army; but the garrison made so obstinate a defence, and the Moors were so much harrassed, that they were at length constrained to raise the siege with discredit. Nevertheless, the states of Castile resolved, merely to save expence, to act only upon the defensive; and upon the king of Granada's demanding a suspension of arms for eight months, the proposition was accepted. He did not long survive this last action; and his brother Joseph, whom he had kept in prison during his whole reign, succeeded him^q.

A.D. 1407.

The grand-master of Alcantara dying, the infant Don Ferdinand procured that important office for his son, the

^m Epitome de la Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. de Castilla, por Joseph Martinez de la Puente. Fer. ⁿ Historia del Rey Don Juan II. ^o Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. ^p Chron. de los Moros de Hispan. ^q Chron. del Rey Don Juan II.

A.D. 1408. infant Don Sancho, at whose installation the queen and the whole court assisted. The duke of Austria made a proposal of marriage to the queen-dowager Donna Beatrix, widow of the king Don Juan, but she modestly declined it, by saying that women of her rank married but once. The Moors, after having committed hostilities more than once, desired, and were permitted, to renew the truce. The queen, plainly perceiving that her confidence had been abused in respect to the umbrage she had taken against the infant Don Ferdinand, very wisely resolved to connect their families more closely, and with this view contracted her daughter Donna Maria to his son

The infant Don Ferdinand's wife and upright administration.

A.D. 1409. Don Alonso^r. The grand-master of the order of St. James dying, that office, though with some difficulty, was procured for the infant Don Henry, another son of the infant Don Ferdinand, though he was then very young^s. The war with the Moors broke out again, and great preparations were made for carrying it on, on both sides. The infant Don Ferdinand prevailed upon the states to change their sentiments in regard to a defensive war, and to furnish the supplies early, so that he took the field with a numerous army, and invested Antequera, a large and well built town, within twelve leagues of Granada, defended by a strong citadel, and, from its situation, of very great importance. The king of Granada practised every method in his power for its relief, but without effect. He at last attempted a negotiation, with a view of corrupting some of the Moorish slaves in the Christian camp, to assist in a perfidious contrivance for the destruction of their masters; but a converted Moor discovering the plot in time, the conspirators were very severely punished, and not long after the place was taken by assault, and the citadel by capitulation^t. This loss so humbled the Moors, that they demanded a truce of seventeen months. The infant Don Ferdinand put in his claim to the kingdom of Arragon; and, upon the demise of the king Don Martin, pushed his pretensions warmly by his ambassadors, the queen giving him all the assistance in her power; notwithstanding which, the troubles in that country lasted a long time^u.

A.D. 1410. An assembly of the states was held at Valladolid, during which, the infant Don Ferdinand fell dangerously ill. Don Frederick, duke de Benavente, who had been many

^r Alloh. a Carthagena de Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis. ^s Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. ^t Chron. del Rey Don Juan II. Chron. de los Moros de Hispan. Galindez de Carvajal. ^u Zurit. Annal. Arragon.

years prisoner in the castle of Monreal, murdered the governor of that place, and made his escape into Navarre, where, at the instance of the court of Castile, he was secured, though he was the queen of Navarre's brother. The states granted forty-eight millions of maravedies, to be employed in the war against Granada, at the expiration of the truce. In compliance with the desires of the subjects of both nations, a peace was concluded between the crowns of Castile and Portugal. The infant still continued to solicit his claim to the crown of Arragon, which, as Ferreras rightly observes, must have proceeded upon this foundation, that the junction of the two crowns was not to be admitted; for, otherwise his nephew, the king of Castile, had a prior right; but it is plain that this was never insisted upon, and that the queen continued to do every thing that he could ask or desire*. The king of Granada, in the beginning of the ensuing year, desired to renew the truce, to which the queen consented. Don Ferdinand, finding that money was a very useful instrument to a man in his situation, earnestly desired to have that which had been laid by for the war: the council was divided upon this request; some were for giving it him; but others observed, that the queen and the infant had sworn not to employ that money but in war; but this objection was easily removed; pope Benedict XIII. absolved them from their oaths, the infant had the money, and by the help of it carried his point. Donna Leonora Lopez de Cordova, who had been the queen's favourite, and disgraced, applied herself to the infant Don Ferdinand, to make her peace; but the queen wrote to him to banish her into Andalusia, and immediately disgraced her brother, and all her relations. Towards the close of the year, the nine judges chosen by the states of Arragon, after long and mature deliberations, declared the infant Don Ferdinand king, who immediately repaired to Saragossa, where he was proclaimed and crowned; notwithstanding which, he found himself engaged in a civil war, raised by the count de Urgel, who was in possession of many strong places, and had a numerous party at his devotion†.

Assisted by the queen and council of Castile, in his claim to the crown of Arragon.

A.D. 1411.

A.D. 1412.

The king, Don Ferdinand, finding that his enemy had applied himself for succours to Thomas, duke of Clarence, son to Henry IV. of England, he judged it high time to make trial of the affection of the nobles of Castile. Upon

* Chron. del Rey Don Juan II. Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Brand. Hist. de Hispan. y Rainald. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

*The deaths
of the king
Don Ferdi-
nand, and
of the queen
Donna Ca-
talina, re-
gents.*

A.D. 1413.

his signifying his request by letters, they drew together so great a force, and made so expeditious a march to his relief, as not only astonished his new subjects, but placed him in quiet possession of his dominions, after a short and sharp dispute, which ended in his competitor's surrendering himself at discretion; and the king, to shew how much he relied upon his friends, sent him prisoner into Spain². By his interposition, the king of Navarre was prevailed upon to deliver up the duke Benavente, who was carried back into Castile, and continued there a prisoner to his death³. In order to fix himself more effectually in his new dominions, and to strengthen that union which already reigned between the two crowns, the king pressed the marriage of his eldest son Don Alonso with the infant

A.D. 1414.

Donna Maria, to which the queen-dowager of Castile very readily consented, and the ceremony was soon after performed with great solemnity⁴. This great point

A.D. 1415.

being thus settled, the king was inclined to make a short tour to visit his sister; but a distemper, from which he had but lately recovered, surprised him again upon the road, and, after a short illness, carried him to his grave,

A.D. 1416.

on the 2d of April⁵. He left behind him Don Alonso, who succeeded him in the throne of Arragon, the infant Don Juan, the infant Don Henry, grand-master of the order of St. James, and the infant Don Pedro; as for Don Sancho, grand-master of the order of Alcantara, he died a month before his father. By the demise of this brave and prudent prince, the regency of Castile devolved solely upon the queen, who, with the advice of the nobility, made choice of a council to assist her. The first act which distinguished their administration, was their representing to the queen, that Agnes de Torres, one of the ladies of her court, was a busy intriguing woman, and ought therefore to be forbid the court, together with Don Juan Alvarez Ossorio, who had great connections with her, to which measure the queen consented. The king of Granada being desirous of renewing the truce, the queen-regent consented to it, upon condition that he released one hundred Christian slaves. In this year also some historians place the expedition of Jean de Bethencourt, for the reduction of the Canaries. In the council of Constance, which was held to put an end to the schism

² Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Fer.

³ Hist. du Royaume de Navarre. Hist. del Rey Don Juan II.

⁴ Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Franc. Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan.

⁵ Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

that had so long subsisted, the ambassadors of the crown of Arragon disputed precedency with those of Castile, but without effect, the point being clearly decided in favour of the latter. On the 1st of June, the queen regent was found dead in her bed: the Spanish writers allow her to have been a modest, charitable, and religious princess; but they likewise say, that she listened too much to the women who were about her, and that she was addicted to wine, which they insinuate to have been the cause of her death^d. The archbishop of Toledo, whose name was Don Sancho de Rojas, Don Henry, infant of Arragon, the amirante, the constable, Juan de Velasco, Pedro Manrique, and other great lords, thought it best to proclaim the king of full age, though he was scarce thirteen; and on the 20th of October, that young prince, in the presence of Donna Leonora, queen-dowager of Arragon, and the three infants her sons, espoused Donna Maria, their sister^e.

A.D. 1418.

A general assembly of the states being held at Madrid, on the 7th of March, the king declared to them, that he had assumed the government, and was complimented thereupon^f. He renewed the truce with Granada, and received into his favour Don Alvaro de Luna, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more at large^g. The two infants of Arragon, Don Juan and Don Henry, who were men of abilities, but not of the same rectitude of intention with their father, had each of them a great desire to ingross the person and favour of the young king of Castile, and to govern his dominions in his name. Don Juan having negotiated a marriage with Donna Blanca, daughter to the king of Navarre, and presumptive heiress of that kingdom, went thither to conclude it; a journey which gave his brother an opportunity he did not let slip, of seizing the king's person, which he did at Tordeillas, being supported in that insolent action by the constable, the bishop of Segovia, and some other persons. On the 4th of August, the king being in his hands, married his sister; and, in the assembly of the states of Avila, the king justified and approved all that Don Henry had done, as being in his power; and disavowed the endeavours of the

The infant Don Henry of Arragon seizes on the king's person.

^d Hist. del Rey Don Juan II. Fer. ^e Franc. Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan. Chron. del Rey Don Juan II. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. ^f Hist. del Rey Don Juan II. ^g Chron. de los Moros de Hispan. Chron. de Don. Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla y de Leon y Maestro de la Orden y Cavalleria de Sant Iago.

A D. 1419. infant Don Juan to raise forces for his deliverance. The infant Don Henry, to maintain his power, was very desirous of espousing the princess Catharine, the king's sister, who declared her dislike, and, when he surprised the king, had fled to a cloister, from whence she would not be drawn, till he had promised, upon oath, not to force her inclinations; and yet, on the 8th of November, she married him. This match gave the king an opportunity of making his escape, trusting the secret entirely to Don Alvaro de Luna, who made use of Frederick, count of Trastamara, and Don Rodrigo Pimentel, count of Benavente, to assist him therein. It was accomplished, but not without great difficulty and hazard; so that, after crossing the river Tagus in an open boat, the king got to the castle of Montalban, in which he was besieged by the constable, and afterwards by the infant Don Henry; but the infant Don Juan assembling great forces, they thought fit to retire, and leave the king at full liberty to go where he pleased ^h.

His behaviour excites that monarch's indignation in a very high degree.

The king, who was alike unwilling to put himself into the power of the infant Don Juan, treated him with great civility, when he admitted him to his presence, but did not suffer him to remain long at court; and at length sent him a positive order to disband his troops. It was not long, however, before the infant Don Henry created new disturbances; for the king, while he was under constraint, having bestowed upon him, by way of portion with his sister, the country of Villena, with the title of a duchy, he thought this warrant sufficient to take possession of it without waiting for any forms. The king Don Juan, was not only displeased, but thought himself at liberty to retract that grant, and therefore forbid such as held lands in or of that duchy, to acknowledge the infant for their lord ⁱ. Don Henry persisted in his first scheme; but the king persisted likewise: they would both be obeyed; and, as that was impossible, the greater part of the people chose the greater lord, and adhered to the king. In the mean time, the consort of the infant Don Juan was brought to bed of a prince, who was named Don Carlos, whom his grandfather presently declared his successor ^k. The truce with the Moors was renewed; and the infant Don Henry was obliged to disband his troops, and to wear, at least,

^h Galindez de Carvajal. Hist. del Rey Don Juan II. ⁱ Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ^k Hist. du Royaume de Navarre. Hist. del Rey Don Juan II.

the appearance of submission, notwithstanding the king, Don Juan, refused to admit him to his presence.

The troubles of Castile were but begun. The infant Don Henry having parted with his troops, received the king's orders to come to court, which he was very unwilling to obey, insisting upon promises, and even upon hostages for his safety: the king would have given him some moderate satisfaction, but that would not content him. At length, suspecting the use his enemies might make of his contempt, he took a sudden resolution of going to Madrid; but Don Ruez Lopez de Avalos, the constable, and Pedro Manrique, refused to accompany him; which refusal, however, could not influence Garcia Manrique, who followed him out of personal affection. The infant came to Madrid on the 13th of June, kissed the king's hand, and would have spoke to him immediately, but the king advised him to go home and take his repose, and promised to send for him the next day. He did so, and the infant found himself in the midst of the king's council, where he was charged with being privy to some letters written by the chancellor to the king of Granada, exciting him to make war, that the presence and assistance of the infant Don Henry might be more necessary to the king: the infant denied the fact, though the letters were shewn and read to him; and Garcia Manrique, who was a warm man, said, that he was ready to prove with his sword that they were forgeries, as indeed they were, which circumstance, however, did not hinder their being both imprisoned. The infanta, though she had married Don Henry unwillingly, would not desert his interests in his distress, but, putting herself under the care of the constable, retired to the kingdom of Valentia¹. The queen was this year delivered of the infanta Catalina; and the archbishop of Toledo, who was an active and ambitious prelate, departed this life. The truce between the crowns of Castile and Portugal was renewed for nineteen years, the circumstances of both nations making it equally acceptable to their ministers^m. The king of Castile deprived the constable of his dignity, which he gave to the count Don Alvaro de Luna; and distributed his estates, which were very considerable, amongst the lords who were most in

The infant Don Henry imprisoned, and the princess flies into Arragon.

A.D. 1422.

¹ Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. Chronica de los Moros de Hispana. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. Galindez Carvajal. = Brand. Francisci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan.

A.D. 1423. his favour ⁿ. In the month of September, the queen was delivered of another daughter, named Donna Eleonora.

Troubles in Castile continue and increase to the destruction of the kingdom. All the time the disturbances subsisted in Castile, Don Alonso of Arragon was in Italy, endeavouring to procure the kingdom of Naples; but being obstructed in that design, he this year returned home, upon which the king of Castile sent ambassadors to prevail upon him to deliver up the Castilian lords, and the princess his sister, who had taken shelter in his dominions. The king of Arragon insisted that his were a free people; and that, as they had obtained the protection of certain towns, it was not in his power to give them up. On the other hand, he solicited the king of Castile to set his brother, Don Henry, at liberty, a request which was refused; and the misunderstanding between the two crowns rose so high, that military

A.D. 1424. preparations were made on both sides ^o. The infanta Donna Catalina, of Castile, dying, to whom the states had sworn as the presumptive heir of the crown, the king, Don Juan, thought it necessary to take the same precaution, with regard to her surviving sister, Donna Leonora ^p.

The infant Don Juan of Arragon raised in right of his consort to the crown of Navarre. In the beginning of the succeeding year, this measure, which had been thought so necessary for the security of the royal family, and the welfare of the nation, was set aside by the queen's being delivered of a son, on the 6th of January. He was named Don Henry, after his grandfather, and within a week after, was acknowledged for the heir apparent of the dominions of Castile ^q. The disputes with the crown of Arragon continued in the same situation, or rather rose higher, as Don Alonso declared his resolution to have recourse to arms, for the deliverance of his brother Don Henry. The states of Castile, at the instance of their monarch, approved the commitment of that prince, and gave the king the supplies necessary for defending himself, in case he should be attacked; for which purpose he raised forces in all parts of his dominions. At bottom, however, both monarchs were inclined to accomplish, if possible, their respective ends, without having recourse to arms; the king of Castile being well informed, that many of his nobility hated his favourite Don Alvaro, and wanted only an opportunity to shew their hatred; and the king of Arragon having many affairs upon his hands, which

^r Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla.

^o Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

^p Red Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

^q Historia del Rey Don Juan II. Marian. Ferreras.

rendered a war with Castile very improper at that season. To deliver himself from the perplexities he was under, and in order to be thoroughly informed of the sentiments of his antagonist, he summoned his brother Don Juan to return home, which, though a prudent step in him, perplexed that prince extremely, who was equally unwilling to differ with either of these kings. Upon his application to Don Juan of Castile, he drew him out of this difficulty, by advising him to comply with his brother's summons, and gave him full powers to treat of a peace. He went accordingly, and was extremely well received in the camp of Arragon, where he had scarce began to treat with his brother, before Providence put it in his power to treat with him on the level, by the death of Don Carlos, the noble king of Navarre; upon which Donna Blanca, the daughter of that monarch, and the wife of the infant Don Juan, sent him the royal standard to the camp of Arragon *. He soon after concluded a treaty with his brother Don Alonso, by which it was agreed, that the infant Don Henry should be set at liberty, and should take a new oath of fidelity to the king of Castile, and be restored to all that he possessed; and that the king of Arragon should bear no ill-will to those who advised his cousin to imprison the infant †.

The calm derived from this treaty was of no long continuance: factions never want pretences; and those in Castile soon run as high as before, chiefly from the jealousy which the nobility had of the constable. The king, perhaps, by his advice, found a way to awe the king of Arragon, by ordering the count of Urgel, whom his father had sent prisoner into Castile, to be removed nearer the frontiers, and treated with great indulgence. But Don Alonso was not a prince to be long restrained: he sent his mother Donna Leonora, and his sister of the same name, to treat with the king of Castile; and under the shadow of this negotiation, dispatched an officer, upon whom he could depend, to corrupt the governor of the castle, in which the count of Urgel was confined, who carried him swiftly and secretly into the dominions of the king of Arragon, who confined him for the rest of his life to the castle of Xativa. The king, Don Juan, of Navarre, was not so much pleased with his new title as with the

A.D. 1425.

*King of
Castile
compelled to
banish Don
Alvaro de
Luna.*

A.D. 14. 6.

* Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. Zurit. Annal. Arragon. † Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

power he had in Castile, where all the nobility, who hated the constable, considered him as their protector and support. Pedro Manrique, encouraged by them, charged Don Alvaro de Luna, whether truly or falsely is a little uncertain, with very enormous offences. He suggested that he was enamoured of the queen; and that, by the help of Donna Maria Tellez, he proposed to remove the king, and to administer public affairs at his pleasure, during a long minority. He charged him, on the other hand, with persuading the king, Don Juan, to part with that princess, and to espouse an infanta of Portugal. After much confusion, the king found himself obliged to cause his favourite to retire, though he shewed his resentment strongly against such as had compelled him to that measure, and began to countenance the infant Don Henry, who had little or no hand in it^t.

A.D. 1427.

Who is brought to court again a triumph by those who drove him thence.

Success is often dangerous to a faction. The great lords, who had concurred in obliging the king to banish the constable, quickly fell out amongst themselves, and fearing no restraint, committed so many and so great excesses, as raised an universal clamour; insomuch that the far greater part, with the king of Navarre at their head, desired the king to recal him. Don Juan disssembled the pleasure he felt from this request, and by a short delay, made the evil more conspicuous, and them more earnest in their solicitations^u. About this time died Don Ruez Lopez Avaloz, formerly constable of Castile, in very mean circumstances; but when he was in his grave, his illustrious friends prevailed upon the king to restore his fame, by reversing the proceedings against him; an odd instance of respect for a man's memory, whom they had suffered to want bread^w. When the constable was again brought to court, he was introduced into the king's presence by the king of Navarre, and the infant Don Henry, who first quarrelled with each other about his friendship, whom not long after, by his dextreous policy, he caused, upon honourable pretences, to be removed from court. Mohammed the Left-handed, king of Granada, who, for his own safety, had retired into Africa, was encouraged by the king of Castile to attempt the recovery of his own

A.D. 1428.

^t Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

^u Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

^w Francisci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

dominions; and some hostilities passed between the Castilians and the Moors ^x.

The heart-burnings against the constable naturally revived upon his being known to have more power at court than ever: the various arts he practised to maintain that power, increased the number and the rage of his adversaries, amongst whom the king of Navarre and the infant Don Henry, perceiving that they had been both his dupes, might be reckoned the chief. The king of Arragon adhered to them firmly, raised an army in their support; so that a new war was on the point of breaking out, and both armies took the field; but such was the zeal and the address of the queen-dowager of Arragon and the cardinal Foix, the pope's legate, that the kings of Arragon and Navarre were prevailed on to retire, though the armies were within sight ^y. After the retreat of their forces, Don Juan finding his own army much strengthened, resolved to revenge the insult he had received, having first sent a herald to the king of Arragon to denounce war. This step produced a great deal of trouble and bloodshed on both sides; for while the king, or rather the constable of Castile, plundered the dominions of Arragon on one side, the infants Don Henry and Don Pedro acted the same tragedies in Castile, and even carried their irruptions as far as Toledo. By degrees, however, the king Don Juan, and his loyal subjects, repressed the malecontents every where, gradually dispossessed the infants of almost all their strong places, and, at length, blocked them up in Albuquerque, which the infant Don Henry had received from his mother, whose hereditary estate it was ^z. The same year, Mohammed, surnamed the Left-handed, recovered the throne of Granada, and Mohammed the Little, who had usurped it, suffered death ^a.

War breaks out between the crowns of Castile and Arragon.

A D. 1479.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the king came with an army before Albuquerque; and knowing what great advantages he might reap by dividing his adversaries, he had thoughts of treating the two infants favourably: with this view, he advanced in person under the walls, where he ordered a general amnesty to be proclaimed to all who would accept it. Don Henry and Don Pedro, instead of accepting the king's mercy, answered with shot,

A peace concluded, and the king Don Juan turns his arms against the Moors.

^x Chronica de los Moros de Hispana. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. ^y Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condeitabie de Castilla. Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. ^z Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. ^a Cronica de los Moros de Hispana.

stones, and arrows. The king retired upon this outrage, and immediately proclaimed the king of Navarre, and the infant Don Henry rebels, and gave away all their estates in Castile, to his followers; and it was remarkable, that the nobility of all ranks put in for their share. Only the constable de Luna, out of policy, refused any part of their spoils; and a gentleman, whose name was Dias, to whom the king gave a handsome gratification, refused upon a more generous motive: he said he could take no joy in the acquisition of that, for the loss of which another man must lament. The kings of Arragon and Navarre offered to submit all points in dispute to the judgment of the king of Portugal. The count de Foix offered his mediation; but it was rejected, with so little ceremony, that he joined his forces with those of the two crowns. At length the king of Castile, perceiving that the Moors began to be turbulent, made a truce with the kings of Arragon and Navarre, upon condition that the exiles and malecontents of both countries should remain where they were; that the infants Don Henry and Pedro should deliver the town and castle of Albuquerque into the king's hands; and that, for all points in dispute, they should be left to the decision of a certain number of judges, to be chosen by both parties. This agreement gave offence to the king of Portugal, who thought himself slighted^b. Don Juan was now resolved to turn his arms upon the Moors; but first he sent an embassy to the king of Tunis, to signify that the king of Granada, notwithstanding the assistance he had given him to remount the throne, had withheld his tribute, given assistance to his enemies, and made an alliance with the king of Arragon. Upon this remonstrance, the king of Tunis sent word to the monarch of Granada, that he had countermanded the succours he intended him, and that he had nothing to expect from him till he had given satisfaction to the king of Castile. The war that followed was very prejudicial to the Moors, the Castilians making incursions within sight of the walls of Granada^c.

Gains a complete victory over them, and causes the king of Granada to be dethroned.

The king, Don Juan, kept so strict an eye upon such of the nobility as he suspected of having any intercourse with the infants of Arragon, and harrassed them in such a manner, that they were afraid to stir. At the same

^b Zurit. *Annal. Arragon.* *Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.* *Historia del Rey Don Juan II.* *Chronica de Don Alváro de Luna* Condestable de Castilla.

^c *Chronica de los Moros de Hispana.*

time, under colour of the war against the Moors, he raised so formidable an army, as induced all his neighbours to behave towards him with great complaisance and respect. At length, after having secured one or two great men who had been intriguing, or were suspected, he proceeded into Andalusia, and put himself at the head of his troops, carrying with him the queen and the prince of Asturias; but, when the season for action approached, he sent the prince to Madrid, the queen to Carmona, and ordered his council to remain at Cordova. On the 13th of June, he marched from that city for the plains of Granada, where, on the 25th of the same month, he came to an engagement with the whole force of the Moors, at a place called Caveca de los Guinetes. Some writers say, that each of the armies consisted of upwards of one hundred thousand men; but that they were pretty near equal is, on all hands, agreed, as well as that, after a long dispute, the Moors were defeated, with the loss of upwards of ten thousand men in the field of battle, and near twice as many in the pursuit: their camp and baggage fell also into the power of the Christians. Don Alvaro de Luna, perceiving a great body of troops who occupied a strong camp on the top of a mountain, he caused it to be invested, and obliged them to surrender prisoners of war^d. After this decisive victory, in which both the kings commanded in person, it was proposed, in the council of war held in the presence of Don Juan, to seize this favourable opportunity, and lay siege to the city of Granada; but to this enterprize many objections were made. The king, following the advice of the majority of his officers, resolved to lay waste all the adjacent country, and then to retire into his own dominions. The true motive to this resolution, as the most unprejudiced historians agree, was the secret aversion of the nobility to the constable, who therefore would not suffer him to have the honour of delivering Spain from the Moors; but this step was no sooner taken, and the army upon its march towards Cordova, than they gave out positively, that he was the author of the retreat; and that, under colour of a present of figs, the king of Granada had sent him fifty thousand doubloons in gold^e. Before the end of the year, the king concluded a peace with Portugal, and completed his re-

^d *Chronica de los Moros de Hispana. Historia del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla.*

^e *Roderic, Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.*

A.D. 1431.

The troubles of Castile break out afresh, in which the king is victorious.

venge on the king of Granada, by enabling Joseph Ben Muley, grandson of that king of Granada whom Don Pedro the Cruel put to death with his own hands, to dethrone Mohammed the Left-handed, who was forced to fly to Malaga, while the new king declared himself a vassal of Castile; upon which all hostilities ceased.

The troubles of Castile, which had been suspended during the war, broke out again as soon as it was over; for Don Juan de Soto Major, grand-master of Alcantara, whom the king had long in suspicion, and who would never trust himself in his power, perceiving that his master was bent upon reducing him, as well as the count De Castro, and others, who had pursued the same measures, followed the dictates of his ambition, and resolved to join the infants Henry and Pedro. In consequence of this resolution he delivered the town and fortress of Alcantara to the latter, and retired with the former to Albuquerque, which was become the chief seat and rendezvous of all the malecontents ^f. This affair took a very strange turn; for at the time of delivering the fortress, he made prisoner therein one Dr. Franco, whom the king had sent to treat with him, and seized all his effects, and sent his nephew Don Guitterez de Soto Major, with a strong detachment of horse, to pillage the king's subjects, for the benefit of the infants. This Don Guitterez, who was commander of the order, and next in authority to his uncle, had, upon his return, a conference with Dr. Franco, who hinted to him, that it was in his power to repair the disgrace of his family, and to establish himself for ever; and pointed out to him how it might be done. The young man knowing the mutability of his uncle's temper, and finding that he did not return, suspected that the infant Don Henry, to make sure of him, had confined him in the castle of Albuquerque. Possessed of this notion, he surmised his own turn would be next; to prevent which disgrace, he took Dr. Franco's advice, arrested the infant Don Pedro, and declared for the king ^g. This step totally ruined the malecontents; for the king immediately ordered the uncle to be deposed as a traitor; and, upon his recommendation, the knights very willingly elected the nephew ^h. In the next place, the king threatened Albuquerque with a siege, and to bring Don Pedro to

^f Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.
Juan H. Galindez de Carvajal.
Juan H.

Alphonso a Carthagenia de
^g Chronica del Rey Don
^h Historia del Rey Don

his trial. His brother Don Henry, seeing no other remedy left, addressed himself to the king of Portugal, and desired him to propose to the king of Castile, that, upon evacuating all the places he held in his dominions, his brother should be released, a proposal which was readily accepted, and punctually performed on both sides. Joseph Ben Muley, by the advice and with the assistance of the king of Castile, made great preparations for attacking Mohammed in the town of Malaga; but when he was on the point of taking the field, he was seized with a distemper, which carried him off in a few days; in consequence of which event, Mohammed the Left-handed was, for the third time, placed on the throne of Granada; and, joining his forces with those of his competitor, became, for the present, so formidable, that the king of Castile thought fit to dissemble his resentment, and conclude a short truce with him.

A.D. 1432.

The king having called an assembly of the states at Madrid, laid before them the necessity of renewing the war against the Moors; and having obtained the requisite supplies, ordered proper dispositions to be made for that purpose¹. At this time, a very extraordinary treason was discovered. Don Frederick count de Luna, the natural son of Don Martin king of Sicily, had been one of the pretenders to the crown of Arragon. In the first disputes which the king of Castile had with his cousin Don Alonso, he had taken up arms against that monarch, and adhered ever after to his benefactor the king of Castile, who bestowed upon him the duchy of Arjona, and several other places; which, being a man of boundless extravagance, he had sold, and consumed the money^k. A man without principles, and in distress, is capable of any thing. He framed, in these circumstances, a design of surprising Seville, of plundering the citizens and merchants, and then equipping a squadron to seek his fortunes elsewhere. Into this base design he had drawn some gentlemen, who very probably were in like circumstances with himself; and, upon its breaking out, they were all secured. His accomplices were broke upon the wheel; but as for himself, his treason against the king of Arragon excused him from sharing their fate, as he deserved, and he was only imprisoned for life^l. The queen Donna Maria of Castile, touched with pity for Don Diego, son

Becomes superior to all his enemies, and punishes some with great severity.

A.D. 1433.

¹ Historia del Rey Don Juan II.
gon. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

^k Zurit. Annal. Arra-
^l Ortiz de Zuniga.

to Don Pedro the Cruel, who was grown grey in confinement, interceded with the king, her husband, on his behalf, who gave him the town of Coca, in Castile, for his prison, where he spent the remaining part of his days. The war with the Moors was carried on with various success, only the Castilians had the good fortune to render themselves masters of the town of Huesca; but to balance that advantage, Don Guitterez, grand-master of Alcantara, was defeated with considerable loss^m. The military expeditions of the succeeding year were of the same kind, without producing any thing decisive in favour of either side; but the king of Castile was, in one respect, very happy, since he was now entirely free from the disturbance which had been given him by the kings of Arragon and Navarre, and the other princes of that house, who were engaged in a troublesome and fruitless war in Italy. There, being defeated in a sea fight, they were, together with all the Castilian exiles, who had followed their fortunes, taken prisoners, a circumstance which could not fail of affording Don Juan, notwithstanding their near relation to him, much satisfaction, at the same time that it left their dominions almost at his mercyⁿ. However, he continued to observe the truce, in consequence of the promise he had made, some time before, to his sister Donna Maria, queen of Arragon, in an interview that he had with her at Soria. In a short time Don Juan, king of Navarre obtained his liberty, and returned into his own dominions; and Donna Leonora, queen-dowager of Arragon, mother to these princes, died suddenly, at Medina del Campo^o.

A. D. 1435.

*Concludes
a peace
with the
kings of
Arragon
and Na-
varre.*

The next year was more fortunate for the Castilians, in respect to their war with the Moors. Several towns on the frontiers of the kingdom of Granada submitted voluntarily to the king Don Juan; but the most remarkable event of this year was the peace concluded between the crowns of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, by which the tranquillity of the Christians in Spain was effectually secured^p. The county of Ampurias falling to the crown of Arragon, the king very generously gave it to his brother the infant Don Henry, and sent him home: it was this incident that induced the king of Castile to push the conferences that had been opened for a general peace to a

^m Chronica de los Moros de Hispan. ⁿ Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Herrera, ^o Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. ^p Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

speedy conclusion ; and it was accordingly signed on the 22d of September. By this treaty the prince of Asturias was to espouse Donna Blanca, daughter of the king of Navarre, who was to enjoy the revenues of his estates in Castile for four years, and after that term, an annual pension of ten thousand crowns, in lieu of all his pretensions. The infant Don Henry of Arragon was to have an annuity of five thousand crowns, and the sum of fifty thousand crowns in ready money, in full satisfaction of the infanta Catalina's portion. The Castilians who had embraced the interest of the king of Navarre and the infants were to be pardoned, and all the places taken on either side restored. The king of Navarre and the infants his brethren were not, on any pretence, to set foot in Castile, without the express leave of the king Don Juan ; and all memory of past misunderstandings was to be buried in oblivion. To shew his sincerity, the king Don Juan immediately sent full powers to the king of Navarre for contracting the prince of Asturias and the infanta Donna Blanca, with a promise that the marriage should be celebrated as soon as the season would permit ^a.

The winter proved extremely hard, notwithstanding which the king advanced towards the frontiers himself, and sent the prince of Asturias, accompanied by the constable, the bishop of Osma, and a great train to Alfaro, where he espoused the infanta of Navarre, Donna Blanca, esteemed the most beautiful woman of her age in Spain ^c. In a short time after this marriage, the king caused Don Pedro Manrique to be arrested and put into the hands of the constable, a measure which occasioned great discontents. As soon as it was known to the amirante, he began to fortify his places ; upon which the king sent for him, and even granted him a safe-conduct. In this conference it was agreed, that, as the king was determined to shew his resentment, Pedro Manrique should be confined for two years in the castle of Roja, with leave to hunt sometimes, for the benefit of his health, and that things should go no further. The war with the Moors still subsisted : the Christians were so fortunate as to surprise the town of Huelma, and were very near losing it again by their imprudence. In another expedition of more importance, their troops were not only beaten, but most of them cut off. The

Causes Don Pedro Manrique to be arrested, and thereby occasions fresh troubles.

A.D. 1437.

^a Chronica del Rey Don Juan II. Zurit, Annal. Arragop.
Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. ^c Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Chronica del Rey Don. Juan II.

king,

A.D. 1438.

king, having in the winter, repaired to the castle of Roja, Pedro Manrique, with his wife and two daughters, was removed from thence to another place, and on the 20th of August, they made their escape; but would have been presently retaken, if the amirante and his friends had not taken up arms in their defence. After having taken this step, they endeavoured to interest the king of Navarre and the infant Don Henry in their support, to whom Pedro Manrique had been formerly a great friend; but, in respect to the treaty lately concluded, they refused to interfere, otherwise than by their good offices. The king, taking advantage of the war against the Moors, ordered the nobility to repair with their forces to the frontiers, early in the ensuing spring; and, as most of them testified great willingness to comply with this order, the constable advanced money to such as wanted it for their levies^s.

*These grow
to a greater height
than ever,
and the
whole kingdom is in
arms.*

When they came, however, to open the campaign, it clearly appeared, that the king and his minister were totally mistaken in their measures; for a great part of the nobility, after having raised their troops, joined the malecontents. The king of Navarre and the infant Don Henry, who had obtained a safe-conduct, on account of the marriage of the prince of Asturias, made use of it to enter Castile, each with a great body of troops. The king sent to compliment them, and to know the meaning of this invasion; to which they answered, that, in a country where every body was in arms, they thought it requisite, for their own safety, to go armed also^t. The king Don Juan sent for them to join him, which the king of Navarre did, but the infant Don Henry went to the malecontents^u. After many conferences and much trouble, the king yielded to an accommodation, by which the king of Navarre and the infant Don Henry were to be restored to their estates, and the constable was to be banished the court for six months. Yet, after a little time, the king went off from this agreement, and endeavoured to collect such a force as might reduce the rebels to reason; but he found things strangely altered; and many of those who had formerly served him with the greatest fidelity going daily over to the malecontents. While things were in this situation, he received a very long letter, or rather manifesto, subscribed by the king of Navarre, the infant Don Henry,

A.D. 1439.

^s Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla.
^t Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.
 Galindez de Carvajal. ^u Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.
 Alphonsi a Carthagena de Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.

the amirante, and all the lords of their party: in which, after very warm professions of the utmost duty and respect, they told him, that it was not against him, but against Don Alvaro de Luna, that they had taken up arms; because that minister, without his knowledge, had imposed taxes upon the people, taken away men's goods and estates at his pleasure, caused money to be coined below the standard, prevailed upon the king to seize persons of distinction without cause, and then ordered them to be murdered without his privity; that he disposed of all civil offices at his pleasure, threatened such as were in the king's service if they did not pay a servile complaisance to his will; that, at Arevalo, he had killed one man, and beat another in his majesty's presence; so that they could not look upon their sovereign as acting freely, or believe themselves or the kingdom in safety, while such a man remained about his person. The king did not much regard this letter; but found himself under a necessity of assembling the states at Valladolid; and, previous to their meeting, he formed the household of the prince of Asturias; at the head of which he placed Don Alvaro de Luna *. One of the first things done at Valladolid was completing the marriage of the prince of Asturias and Donna Blanca, as they were then both of age; a ceremony which was performed with great solemnity and at a vast expence †; though, as it afterwards appeared, there was no consummation. About this time Don Pedro Manrique, in whose quarrel these disturbances began, deceased; and the prince of Asturias, by the persuasion of his favourite Don Juan Pacheco, privately quitting the court, retired to the malecontents.

The king of Castile received early next year the mortifying news of the infant Don Henry's having taken possession of the city of Toledo. He marched thither with such troops as he could assemble, in hopes of recovering it, but without effect: and though he proceeded to extremities, and issued various edicts and proclamations, yet they neither encouraged his own party, nor intimidated that of the malecontents. The constable, and his brother, the archbishop of Toledo, had assembled a great strength at Escalona, and their friends, in several small actions,

A.D. 1440.

The queen and the prince of Asturias concur with the malecontents.

* *Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.* *Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Luna.* Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Francisci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan. † *Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.* Alphonſi a Carthagenæ Reg. Hispan. Anacephalæſis.

came off with great reputation ; infomuch, that they accepted a challenge of deciding all differences in a single battle : but the king sending an order in writing to both parties to forbear hostilities, on pain of being denounced rebels, he was obeyed. Some fortunate attempts made by those who adhered to him, encouraged the king so much, that he began to seize the estates of the principal persons embarked in what was now called the league ; but it gave him great concern to find both the queen and the prince of Asturias affecting to act as mediators between him and his subjects, while in reality they were in the interests of the malecontents : however, he yielded nothing to their intercessions. He sent for the constable and all his forces to Medina del Campo, where, as some writers say, he was betrayed, but, as all agree, surprised, by the forces of the league, who entered the town in the night *. The first thing the king did, was to send to the constable and the archbishop to retire with their friends, and provide for their own safety ; whilst he himself, with such as he could depend upon, formed in the square, and, by that disposition, hindered an immediate pursuit ; but as soon as the constable had forced a passage, the king sent the archbishop of Seville to the lords of the opposite party, to let them know he should be glad to see them. This incident happened on the 28th of June ; and the king, finding himself now intirely in the hands of those he esteemed his enemies, consented to whatever they asked, as appears from a long treaty of twenty-nine articles, which amount to no more than this, that the constable should be separated from the king one half of the year ; that he should give his son as a hostage, and also nine fortresses, by way of security, that he would submit to these terms ; and all forfeitures and all grants from the king were to be void †.

A D. 1441. Soon after this accommodation, he repaired to Burgos, and consented to call an assembly of the states ; but made choice of Toro instead of Madrigal, which they recommended : and, in the mean time, both sides carried on their intrigues.

By which the king is compelled to yield to their requests.

The king, instead of caressing Don Juan of Navarre, or his brother Don Henry, paid a great deal of respect to the amirante, with whom also the constable endeavoured to entertain a private correspondence, which, in all proba-

* Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Historia del Rey Don Juan II.
 † Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

bility, would have succeeded, but for the circumspection of the count de Castro, who, considering that Donna Blanch, queen of Navarre, and the infanta Catalina of Castile, were both dead, advised the king and the infant Don Ferdinand, his brother, to strengthen their interest by marriage; proposing to the former Donna Joanna, daughter to the amirante, and Donna Beatrix, sister of the count de Benavente, to the latter; and those marriages being quickly settled, strengthened the league extremely. At the assembly of the estates at Toro, the king obtained a considerable supply, and would, in all probability, have carried all his points, if it had not been discovered that the constable had procured the lodgings of the king of Navarre and the infant Don Henry to be undermined, with an intent to have blown them up; which discovery added not a little to that hatred which he had already excited; nevertheless a dispute having happened in the order of Calatrava, in which some blood had been spilled, the king marched with the forces about him to put an end to the disorder, reduced Talavera in his way, and then proceeded to Toledo^z. In his route the constable Don Alvaro came to kiss his hands, and had a private conference with the king of Navarre and the infant Don Henry, after which he returned to Escalona, not a little chagrined at the loss of his brother the archbishop of Toledo^a. The king managed his affairs with great address; for, perceiving that factions were formed, and that seditious broke out in several parts of his dominions, he commissioned the principal lords of the league to reduce these disturbers of the public quiet; and actually engaged the infant Don Henry to besiege the new grand-master of Calatrava, who had been chose without the king's consent, and who lost his life in this dispute. The king coming to Madrigal, the prince of Asturias repaired thither, and proposed in the privy council that several persons should be removed from his father's presence, and all the creatures of the constable dismissed; so, that, in a short time, from being a great king, Don Juan found himself very little better than a prisoner, and this with the bitter circumstance of being thus treated by his own son.

A.D. 1443.

At the opening of this year the affairs of the king of Castile were in a most distressed condition; the malecon-

^z Chron. del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla.

^a Historia del Rey Don Juan II. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

The bishop of Avila prevails on the prince to attempt his father's release.

tents, and more especially the amirante, being so jealous of him, that they appointed the brother of that lord, and another person in whom they could confide, to keep him constantly in view; a restraint which threw him into a deep melancholy. The bishop of Avila addressed himself to Don Juan Pacheco, and asked him how he could be guilty of such ingratitude to Don Alvaro de Luna, who had made his fortune? or how he durst inspire the prince his master with sentiments of disloyalty to his father? Pacheco gave him to understand, that the prince needed no tutors in an affair of that kind; that he himself was sick at that time, but that he was willing to bring his master off from the league; in which particular he was as good as his word^b. The prince then made a treaty with the constable Don Alvaro, and stipulated certain terms for himself and his favourite, on which he was willing to attempt his father's release. In managing this affair he acted with the most profound dissimulation and deceit, till the bishop of Avila had engaged the count De Haro, and many other great lords, to take up arms in the cause of their sovereign^c. The prince of Asturias then put himself at their head, upon which the league took the king from Toledillas, and sent him to the fortrefs of Portillo, under the care of the count De Castro, and then marched with all their forces to give the prince battle. While they were in the field, the king, by the assistance of cardinal Cervantes, made his escape, and, by his own authority, quickly raised another army; so that the king of Navarre and his partizans had now the prince in their front, and the king in their rear; an embarrassment which struck them with such a panic, that many of their adherents daily deserted. At length, their army breaking up, the king of Navarre retired into the territories of Arragon, and the infant Don Henry, losing all Andalusia, the king, who, at the beginning of the year, was a close prisoner, found himself, before the close of it, at least as much a monarch as he had ever been^d.

A D. 1443.

A new civil war breaks out, in which the king is completely victorious.

The king of Navarre soon collected fresh forces, and gave notice to all his partisans to join him; and if they found this impracticable, to repair to his brother Don Henry, who, with infinite hazard and diligence, drew together the broken re-

^b Historia del Rey Don Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla.

^c Roderic Santii, Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Chronica del Rey Don Juan II.

^d Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Histoire de Royaume de Navarre.

mains of the league. The king, having the prince his son, the constable, and a considerable body of troops about him, endeavoured to hinder the brothers from joining, but without effect; so that they brought their whole strength together at Almedo, before which place the king soon presented himself with his forces. On the 19th of May, in the morning, the prince of Asturias, at the head of two hundred horse, went to reconnoitre the place; upon which Don Rodrigo Manrique sallied forth with a superior body of cavalry, and drove him into his father's camp. The king, provoked and astonished at this insolence, ordered his standard to be displayed, and advanced towards the town in order of battle, and kept his troops under arms till it was within two hours of night, by which time the king of Navarre drew out his forces in exact order, and an obstinate engagement ensued. The king's forces had the advantage from the beginning, when, a little before night, the malecontents were entirely routed, the amirante, with Don Henry his brother, the count De Castro and his son, and many other persons of distinction, were made prisoners. The king of Navarre, and his brother the infant Don Henry, who was wounded in the hand, retired first to Almedo, and from thence in the night towards the frontiers of Arragon; where, when they arrived, the infant Don Henry died of his wound^e. The king, by the advice of the constable, gave a loose to his resentment, put some of the prisoners to death, and granted away the estates of most of those who had been in arms. This severity disgusted the prince of Asturias, who, with his favourite, Don Juan de Pacheco, retired to Segovia. The amirante having made his escape, joined such of his friends as had retired to Andalusia; and, having drawn together a considerable body of men, fought to make his retreat out of the kingdom^f. The king went on, reducing the places belonging to the malecontents, and to that lord in particular; in which, however, he met with some obstruction; the prince very roundly declaring, that he had taken the amirante and his family under his protection^g. In the mean time the constable of Portugal entered Castile with a body of troops, which the king, by the advice of Don Alvaro de Luna, had de-

^e Chron. del Rey Don Juan II Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. Hist. de Royaume de Navarre. Marian. Ferr. ^f Alphonse a Carthagena de Reg. Anacephalæosis. Francisci Teraphæ de Reg. Hispan. ^g Roderici Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

manded, contrary to the opinion of the rest of the nobility, who foresaw that they would come too late. However, he gave them a good reception; and Don Alvaro had several private conferences with the constable. The queen, Donna Maria of Castile, sister to the kings of Arragon and Navarre, died in the beginning of the year, not without suspicion of being poisoned, by the contrivance of Don Alvaro: and that ambitious favourite, without so much as saying a word to his master, concluded with the constable of Portugal a marriage for that prince with Donna Isabella, daughter to the infant Don Juan of Portugal. When the strangers were departed, he acquainted the king with what he had done, and the advantages he proposed from the alliance, with which Don Juan was exceedingly offended, as he proposed to have married a daughter of France; but Don Alvaro had such an ascendancy over him, that he consented to the match^b. He was soon after obliged to digest another disagreeable proposition from the prince of Asturias, which was the pardoning the amirante and the count of Benavente; at the same time he made Don Lopez de Mendoza marquis of Santillana, and Don Juan Pacheco marquis of Villena. He procured likewise Don Alvaro de Luna to be elected grand-master of the order of St. James. Having deposed Don Alonso, the natural son of the king of Navarre, from the office of grand-master of Calatrava, Don Pedro Gironne was placed therein, though not without difficulty, to oblige the prince, who was still out of humour, and to whom he was obliged to give the town of Caceres, as he did the important town of Albuquerque, with all its dependencies, to the grand-master Don Alvaroⁱ. But, at the close of the year, deposing Pedro Lopez de Ayla from the government of Toledo, and ordering his process to be made for numberless crimes, the prince of Asturias took fresh offence thereat, and the king his father was obliged to promise him satisfaction in this and in every thing else. There happened this year a revolution in the kingdom of Granada. Mohammed Ben Osman, nephew of Mohammed Ben Nacer, at this time upon the throne, having intelligence at Almeria, where he lived, of great heartburnings in the court, went secretly to Granada, and causing a tumult to be raised by his partisans, pro-

A.D. 1445

^b Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.
 Juan II. Chronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla.

ⁱ Historia del Rey Don Juan II.

ceeded suddenly to the alhambra, or palace, where he seized his uncle, and, having confined him to a prison, mounted the throne. As this scheme was conducted by the populace, and, and by a few inferior officers, Abdilbar, the chief magistrate, retired to Monte Frio, on the frontiers of the kingdom of Jaen, and, with others of the nobility, invited Ishmael, a prince of the blood, then in the service of Don Juan of Castile, to come to them, with a promise of using their endeavours to make him king; in which design he had also some assistance from the monarch of Castile, but not enough to carry his point, though his partisans adhered to him with great fidelity^k.

The misunderstanding between the king Don Juan of Castile and his son, the prince of Asturias, rose higher, and grew much more public than ever; insomuch, that it was no secret to the people that, under colour of representing the insolence of the grand-master Don Alvaro, the prince really meant to take the crown from his father's head, and to place it upon his own. Don Juan being apprized of his intent, and having more steadiness in his temper than his son, thought the sooner this contest was decided the better; and therefore, hearing the prince was in the field, he marched against him with pretty near the same force^l. The two armies met between Arevalo and Madrigal; but the clergy and people of discretion who were about the king and prince, prevailed upon them to spare their subjects blood in so unnatural a quarrel; upon which it was agreed to leave the discussion of their respective grievances to the real authors of them, Don Alvaro de Luna and Don Juan Pacheco; who, for the present, patched up an agreement to their own satisfaction, which was subscribed on the 11th of May^m. The king, Don Juan, then turned his arms against his cousin of Navarre, and endeavoured to reduce the few strong places he had left; but while he was thus employed, Don Juan Pacheco revived in the prince's mind a desire of obliging the king to banish the grand-master, who was become his own enemy: the king had no dislike at all to the measure, for he knew him to be a bad man, and hated him as a great man. Don Alvaro was not at all ignorant of his sentiments; but he shewed the king so clearly that it was by his power and abilities that he was himself kept on the

The prince of Asturias raises fresh disturbances, and offers his father battle.

^k Chron. de los Moros de España.
Juan II. Galindez de Carvajal.

^l Chron. del Rey Don Juan.
^m Chron. de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

throne, that he rendered him more steady to him through timidity than he had ever been through affection. By his advice the king wrote to the amirante and to the count De Benavente, to whom he knew that his son had made propositions, assuring them that he would make fidelity more their interest than treason. A more miserable nation than this, unconquered by a foreign force, was never seen; and yet into this miserable condition must every nation come where factions long prevail. The king of Navarre, to be revenged on the monarch of Castile, procured a great body of hungry Gascons to make a quick march through his own dominions, and take up their winter quarters in Castile, where, to all the untoward consequences of civil broils, they added every dismal misfortune that could attend a barbarous invader. To heighten the horrors of this scene, the king of Granada, having first reconciled Ishmael, made several incursions into the territories of Castile, in quality of confederate to the king of Navarre, burnt several places, and drove multitudes into slavery; while the prince of Asturias, who commanded on the frontiers, forbid any succours being sent to the places attacked, from the wicked desire of rendering his father more odious, and his administration more contemptible, as the most effectual method of compelling him to a resignationⁿ.

A.D. 1446.

*The king of
Castile
espouses the
daughter
of Don
Juan, in-
fant of
Portugal.*

It was not possible for any prince to have a truer or a sharper sense of his condition than Don Juan of Castile; but, for many reasons, he was obliged to dissemble; and, if that is to be esteemed, as some say it is, a royal quality, he possessed it in a supreme degree. Don Juan, king of Navarre, bearing continually in his mind what noble estates he once had in Castile, meditated every method possible for recovering them, and found none more promising for the present than to complete the marriage with Donna Joanna Henriques, daughter to the amirante, which he had contracted some time before; the brother of that lady being acquainted with his intentions, conveyed her privately to the frontiers of Arragon, where that monarch met and espoused her^o. This alliance prompted him to raise new troubles in Castile; but his son the prince of Viana interposed, and, by his great influence with the states of Navarre and Arragon, prevented him from doing what he proposed^p. Don Juan of Castile

ⁿ Chron. del Rey Don Juan II. de Castilla. Hernando Perez de Guzman. ^o Zurjt. Annal Arragon. ^p Histoire du Royaume de Navarre.

married also a second time Donna Isabella, daughter to the infant Don Juan of Portugal, who, in a very short space of time, acquired his affection to such a degree, that he intrusted her with his great secret, which was, that he mortally hated, and was extremely desirous of being rid of, Don Alvaro, who had been so long his favourite; for which aversion he assigned many motives, but, in all probability, suppressed one, which was none of the least, that he had obliged him to marry this very princess against his inclination^a. The king of Granada, in quality still of ally to the king of Navarre, made himself master of several places that lay very conveniently for him; conquests which the prince of Asturias might easily have prevented, but for the reason that has been before assigned, which, though the worst in the world, continued to be the rule of his conduct^r: or, if that be any apology for his conduct, it was the maxim of Don Juan Pacheco, who then, and ever after, governed him at his pleasure.

A.D 1447.

The grand-master Don Alvaro de Luna, perceiving that the greater part of the nobility of Castile inclined to the party of the king of Navarre, judged it absolutely necessary, for his own safety, that the king and the prince should be reconciled; and this reconciliation he brought about, as he had often done before, by gaining Don Juan de Pacheco. An interview was appointed between the father and the son, to which they came with an equal number of guards, and at which the king caused the count de Benavente, Don Henry Henriquez, and Don Suero de Quinones, to be arrested; and the prince, on his side, did the same, with regard to the count Alba de Tormez and Don Pedro de Quinones, persons who had given umbrage to their respective favourites^s. This mutual proscription, as might have been easily foreseen, augmented the troubles, which were already but too great, and obliged many of the nobility to unite more strictly to the king of Navarre. The Moors also renewed their incursions; and though the prince, as a proof of his reconciliation, sent Alonso Tellez against them with a small body of forces; yet this served only to increase the evil, since, through his own ill conduct, most of his troops were cut to pieces^t. The count of Benavente, having made his escape, took up arms against the

An interview between the king of Castile and his son.

A.D 1448.

^a Brand. Chron. del Rey Don Juan el Segundo, por Alvar Garcia de Sant. Maria. Juan de Mena. Hernando Perez de Guzman, y Gomez Carrillo.

^r Chron. de los Reyes de Castilla.

^s Hernando Perez de Guzman. Chron. de Don Alvaro de Luna. Condestable de Castilla. ^t Chron. del Rey Don Juan II. de Castilla.

king, and gave him a great deal of trouble. The grand-master Don Alvaro, having the king's order to protect the frontiers against the Moors, first went to Toledo, in order to borrow a sum of money; a step which so irritated the citizens, that they revolted, and made Pedro Sarmiento, who was governor of the castle, their chief. He defended the city against the king, whom he treated with the utmost insolence; and, when he found himself hard pressed, offered to declare for the prince, who thereupon required the king his father to raise the siege, as he had taken Toledo and all its inhabitants under his protection: in order to avoid a new civil war, the king was constrained to retire. For these good services, Pedro Sarmiento thought it reasonable to pay himself, by stripping most of the rich citizens of all that they were worth, which he did, with all the circumstances of oppression and barbarity that can be imagined. The prince, being informed of this speculation, went thither and turned him out, but suffered him to carry away all his ill-get wealth, with which he retired into Arragon^u. The Moors continued their incursions, and took several places upon the frontiers. The king of Castile, growing old, and weary of continual disturbances, and becoming more and more uneasy at the power which the grand-master Don Alvaro assumed, though he shewed him as great marks of favour as ever, resolved to reconcile himself, once for all, to the king of Navarre, and the malcontents. While he was engaged in a negotiation for this purpose, the prince of Asturias fell into the like distaste of his favourite Don Juan Pacheco, marquis of Villena; but, as he could never keep a secret, the design he had laid to seize him miscarried: he was forced to give him leave to quit his court, and retire to one of the fortresses in his own possession; yet, in a short time, this quarrel was composed, and the marquis restored to the prince's good graces^v, who, though a weaker man, was a better master than his father.

A D. 1447.

*The Moors
renew
their in-
cursions.*

A D. 1450.

*Reconciliation
between the
king and
his son.*

The pope, being fully acquainted with the sad and strange situation of affairs in Castile, which gave the Moors an opportunity, not only of enriching themselves by their annual excursions, but likewise to strengthen and enlarge their dominion, sent a bull, addressed to most of the prelates in Spain, requiring them to excommunicate such as refused to submit to their sovereign, and, by perplexing

^u Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Hist. del Rey Don Juan II. ^v Her-
nando Perez de Guzman. Chron. de los Moros de Hispan.

his affairs, gave such an advantage to the infidels. This bull being published, had a great effect; insomuch, that the prince of Asturias found himself obliged to submit in earnest to his father. To take away all grounds of suspicion, he took an oath, which was administered to him by the archbishop of Toledo, to remain inviolably attached to him for the future. In consequence of this, Toledo returned to the king's obedience *. Several of the adherents and instruments of Pedro Sarmiento were seized, convicted, and suffered cruel deaths. He was also condemned as a traitor, and his estates were confiscated; but the king suffered him to live privately with his family, which connivance, however, did not exempt him from the heavier sentence of another tribunal; for, falling into a violent illness, he suffered for a long time most excruciating tortures, and ended his days in the most deplorable manner †. The prince, in virtue of his reconciliation with the king, prevailed upon him to make war with Navarre; which quarrel, however, was soon compromised, by the prince of Viana's repairing to the king's camp, and assuring him that he took no share in his father's measures. On the 23d of April this year, the queen was brought to bed, some say at Madrid, others at Madrigal, of the infant *Donna Isabella*, who, in process of time, became queen of all Spain ‡.

A.D. 1451.

The queen continued incessantly to irritate the king against the grand-master Don Alvaro, to which office she herself was chiefly instigated by the treasurer Don Alonso Perez de Vivero, a man of address and abilities; who, at the same time, owed all his preferments to the man whom he thus laboured to destroy, and by whom, at this time, he was entertained as a bosom friend. The king had it several times in his mind to cause him to be arrested; but the sense of continual danger had taught the grand-master such an habitual caution, that every attempt of this kind was found impracticable: yet, he who, without knowing their schemes, could defend himself against others, facilitated his own ruin by the methods he took to accomplish their's. He persuaded the king to attack his old enemy the count de Placentia, or rather to lend him the concurrence of his person and authority to depose that nobleman of his estates; which countenance the king, who no longer considered every man as his enemy that was so to his fa-

* Rainald. † Chron. del Rey Don Juan II. ‡ Hernando Perez de Guzman.

yourite, refused ^a. Of this project Vivero gave that nobleman a full account, who thereupon framed the scheme of a general confederacy for the grand-master's destruction, which he sent to the prince of Asturias, and to several of the nobility. The prince, at that time, was not very clear, whether the destruction of the grand-master was his interest or not, and therefore sent a loose and inconclusive answer; but the count de Haro, the marquis de Santillan, and the count de Benavente, entered into the confederacy, and promised to support it at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, and it was this that brought the grand-master to his ruin ^b. The king and the prince of Asturias concurred in supporting Don Carlos, prince of Viana, against his father; and, indeed, he had all the plausible pretences that could be offered for such a proceeding: but Don Juan of Navarre was another sort of a man than Don Juan of Castile, and not to be frightened by appearances. His son took the field against him with a superior army, and endeavoured to force him to a battle; but, before the quarrel came to be decided by the sword, he offered him peace, upon such terms as he thought fit to prescribe. The king of Navarre, who looked upon the loss of his honour and authority as a far greater misfortune than the loss of life, rejected those terms, and upon this an engagement ensued; in which, if the prince would have been content with victory, he might have had it; but attacking the king's guards, and putting his father's person in danger, his brother Don Alonso exerted himself with such passion for the preservation of him who had given him being, that the prince's party were not only defeated, but he was forced to deliver up his sword into his brother's hands, and so became his father's prisoner, who treated him sternly, indeed, but not with cruelty ^c.

A.D. 1452.

Battle between the king of Navarre and his own son.

The king of Castile had a conference with the prince of Asturias at Madrigal, to concert measures for procuring the prince of Viana's liberty; and, in this conference, Don Alonso Perez de Vivero engaged the prince to concur with his father in the destruction of the grand-master, for arresting of whom some plots were laid, but without effect ^d. This design did not hinder the king's accepting an invitation from the grand-master to go with the queen and the

^a Chron. de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. Chron. del Rey Don Juan II.

^b Hist. del Rey Don Juan II. Hernando Perez de Guzman.

^c Chron. del Rey Don Juan II. Histoire du Royaume de Navarre. Hernando Perez de Guzman.

^d Fer. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

whole court to Tordefillas, where they were splendidly entertained at his expence; and it was in the midst of these diversions, that, by an accident, the grand-master discovered the intrigues and correspondences of Vivero; upon which he first thought of destroying him, but referred his revenge to another occasion, when he might withdraw himself from court, and stand upon his defence; yet, considering that he had always a gallant company of guards, commanded by a natural son of his, Don Pedro de Luna, he thought it beneath him to retire^e. He went, therefore, with the king to Valladolid; but, when his master proposed going to Burgos, he demanded a safe-conduct, which was granted. When the court arrived at that place, the king sent a person of confidence to the count of Placentia, with orders to arrest the grand-master; but the count suspecting this was no more than an artifice to entrap him, declined the commission, which, however, he cheerfully accepted, upon the king's writing him a letter with his own hand: but, being confined to his bed by the gout, he committed the direction of this difficult affair to his son, Don Alvaro de Zuniga, who, with a small body of determined men, went privately to Burgos, in order to execute the king's order. This design, though conducted with all the art, and all the spirit possible, was attended with such difficulties: that the king once sent that young nobleman orders to desist; but, upon his undertaking for the success, he renewed his command to proceed. The grand-master, though he had no distinct intelligence of the measures pursued, knew in general that something was brewing against him; and therefore, upon Good Friday, called a council of his particular friends, to concert the properest means for securing his safety, to which, amongst the rest, Don Alonso Perez de Vivero was invited. The place where this consultation was held was the top of the tower of the palace in which he lodged. Having first shewn Don Alonso his own letters and the king's, which he could not deny, he then turned his back upon him; on which signal, two of his friends caught up Don Alonso, and threw him over the tower, so that his brains were beat out in the street^f: then they set up a great cry, as if he had fallen by accident; which, however it deceived the people, could not deceive the king, who, by this action, was determined in his mea-

^e Chron. de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla.

^f Hernando Perez de Guzman. Chron. del Rey Don Juan II.

fures. At length Don Alvaro de Zuniga invested his house, and would have forced it; but the king sent an order to the grand-master to submit himself, which he offered to do, provided he had the king's promise that nothing should be attempted against his life or honour: this he accordingly received, though some say the words of that promise were, "Nothing shall be unjustly attempted." However, upon this he submitted. His castle of Portilla being soon after reduced, the king ordered him to be sent thither, and directed a commission to twelve lawyers and lords of the council to form his process, and to proceed to judgment. He was tried accordingly, and condemned to death^b. He was transferred from thence to Valladolid, by Don Diego de Zuniga, who had the custody of him, where he suffered death on a scaffold. He died with great steadiness and courage; and it is said that the king, if he had not been withheld by the queen, would have preserved him even on the morning of his execution (G). This

The grand-master of St. Jago suffers death upon a scaffold, at Valladolid.

* Fer. b Chron de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

(G) It was contrived by those who were about the king of Castile, that this sacrifice of the great-master of St. James, and high constable, Don Alvaro de Luna, should be accompanied with all the pomp and solemnity possible, that it might make the greater impression on the people. The scaffold was erected in one of the most public places in Valladolid; there stood upon it a table covered with black velvet, upon which was a cross, between two flambeaux of white wax, lighted; to which, as soon as he came upon the scaffold, he made a profound reverence. Upon the reading of his sentence, he said, "My sins have deserved not only this, but a much heavier punishment." He then gave his hat and his ring to one of his pages, saying, "These are the last fa-

vours I have to bestow:" upon which the youth burst out into such a passion of tears, as affected all the spectators. He cast his eyes next on the master of the horse to the prince of Asturias: "Baraza, said he, tell your master from me, that he will do well not to follow his father's example in the rewarding of his old servants." Observing a very high post with an iron hook upon the top of it, he said to the executioner, "My friend, what is that for?" "It is, returned the executioner, to place your head on when I shall have severed it from your body." Don Alvaro, without the least emotion, replied, "When I am dead, you may do with my remains what you please; no death can be shameful, which is supported with courage and intrepidity; or untimely, after a man has

This action has been considered by different authors in very different lights; for some regard him as a criminal who met with no worse usage than he deserved, while others represent him as a victim of state, whose only crime was being a very able minister to a very weak prince. In this particular, however, most historians agree, that the king regretted the loss of him when it was too late, and when experience taught him, that faction was not buried in the grave of the grand-master, but that the powers of repressing it were much lessened by his death. He enriched himself exceedingly by the forfeitures, and by seizing the treasures of that great minister; though, by a kind of composition, he left much wealth to his widow and children. On the 15th of November, the queen was delivered of the infant Don Alonso, at Tordeillas¹. About the same time a revolution happened in the kingdom of Granada, where Ishmael, at length,

i Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

has for many years been at the head of affairs, and conducted all things with dignity and reputation." He then laid himself along upon the cloth prepared for that purpose; for in Spain they do not behead, but cut the throats of persons condemned for high treason, and afterwards separate the head from the body. Immediately before he lay down, the executioner would have tied his hands behind him with a cord; but Don Alvaro putting his hand into his bosom, pulled out a ribband, which he gave him for that purpose. As soon as he was prostrate, the executioner struck his long knife into his throat, and presently after divided his head from his body, which, after it had been exposed to the people, was placed upon the pole before mentioned, and remained there nine days, though the body lay on the scaffold but three. A bason was placed

near it, to receive the alms of charitably disposed people, to defray the expence of burying, says Mariana, a man, who in power and wealth, but a few days before, was equal to some sovereign princes. Others, with more probability, say this money was bestowed to procure masses for his soul. He was at first interred at St. Andrew's, where malefactors were usually buried; but leave was afterwards procured to remove his body to the church of St. Francis, in Valladolid: some years after, with the king's permission, it was transferred to Toledo, and finally buried with great pomp in the chapel of St. James, belonging to the cathedral in that city, which was of his own foundation. This was the end of him who had served his master forty-five years, thirty of which he had governed at his pleasure both the king and kingdom.

found

A.D. 1453.

*The king of
Navarre
sets his son
at liberty.*

found means to set himself on the throne, at least he was proclaimed king, though not without a rival, as will be seen hereafter ^k. The king of Navarre, at the request of the states of that kingdom, and of Arragon, released the prince Don Carlos, upon certain terms; neither ought we to omit that the prince of Asturias was separated from his princess Donna Blanca, daughter to the king of Navarre, and sister to Don Carlos, on account of a reciprocal frigidity ^l.

The king Don Juan having now learned from experience, the proper mistress of such kind of men, that the only way to be safe, after a reign like his, was to be armed, kept eight thousand lances about his person; a precaution which had a good effect. The intelligence he received of the discoveries made by the king of Portugal, and the great advantages that he was like to reap from them, chagrined him so much, that, surmising these discoveries to be inconsistent with the grant which his predecessors had obtained from the pope of the Canary Islands, and whatever depended upon them, he threatened Portugal with a war, if the king did not desist from all thoughts of discovery; but that monarch, having made him a general promise not to invade his rights, pursued them without any regard to the threats of Don Juan ^m. His sister, the queen Donna Maria of Arragon, being come into Castile, on purpose to confer with him, he went, though he was ill of a fever, from Avila towards Medina del Campo to meet her, but was taken so extremely ill upon the road, that those about him thought he was dead; yet, upon exhibiting a proper cordial, he recovered so much strength, as to be carried to Medina del Campo, and from thence to Valladolid, where he relapsed, and, with great patience and resignation, breathed his last, on the 21st of July ⁿ. By his testament, he devised to the queen Donna Isabella the towns of Soria, Arevalo, and Madrigal, with all their dependencies; to the infant Don Alonso the administration of the grand-mastership of St James; and to the infanta Donna Isabella the town of Cuellar, with its revenues and territory. He recommended, in the strongest terms, to the prince of Asturias, unanimity in the royal family, of which, however, it does not appear he had any great hopes. His demise was not much regretted by his subjects; and, perhaps, it would have excited still less sorrow if they had not been so well acquainted with his successor.

*Death of
Don Juan,
king of
Castile,
who is suc-
ceeded by
his son
Henry IV.*

^k Pedraza l'Histoire de Granada. ^l Zurit. Annales Arragon. Hernando Perez de Guzman. ^m Perez de Guzman. ⁿ Zurit. Annales Arragon. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

As soon as the obsequies of the late king were performed, his son, Don Henry IV. took possession of the kingdom, at Valladolid, with great ceremony, the principal nobility and prelates of the realm repairing thither to pay their allegiance, and testify their regard for the new king^o. Upon this occasion Don Henry affected, by his behaviour as a king, to efface all memory of the strange things that had been done by the prince of Asturias. He caused Don Diego Manrique, count of Trevino, whom he had, for some time, kept in prison, to be set at liberty; and he likewise released Don Hernando Alvarez de Toledo, count of Alba, who had been restrained for a much longer time; which acts of grace were very acceptable^p. Soon after he sent ambassadors to renew the ancient alliance with the crown of France; and he regulated with Donna Maria, queen of Arragon, the treaty of accommodation which had been begun by his father^q. This settled and extinguished all the pretensions of the king of Navarre and his family, as well as their adherents. That monarch, his son Don Alonso, and his nephew Don Henry, had each of them a large annuity, as a satisfaction for their estates; and for their partizans they were, a few only excepted, restored to their titles, dignities, and possessions, without being liable to any enquiry for what was past. As to the affairs of Arragon, the king Don Henry thought fit to settle these by an embassy sent for that purpose to king Don Alonso in Italy; and, this being in a fair train, he called an assembly of the three estates of the kingdom, in which his design of attacking the Moors was highly approved, and a liberal supply granted him for that purpose. He likewise negotiated a marriage with Donna Joanna infanta of Portugal, which was concluded, though that princess was no stranger to the suspicions created by the dissolution of his former marriage with the infanta of Navarre, which, indeed, were the common topics of discourse through Spain^r.

In a congress held at Agreda, all the points in difference between the crowns of Castile and Navarre, and their allies and adherents on both sides, were very happily terminated, on the conditions that have been already mentioned. The war with the Moors was undertaken in the spring with a great force, but with no great effect,

A.D. 1454.

Makes
war upon
the Moors.

^o Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia.

^p Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Enriques del Castillo. ^q Zurir. Annal. Arragon. ^r P. Daniel Hist. de France.

^r Emanuel Faria y Sousa. Abarca.

since the king only ravaged the open country about Granada. This conduct displeased some of the nobility; who, perceiving that the king was as much held in leading-strings by the marquis de Villena, as his father had ever been by Don Alvaro de Luna, resolved to seize on the person of their monarch, and then to make such alterations as they should think convenient: but this design was discovered, and prevented^s. He went afterwards to Cordova, where he espoused Donna Joanna of Portugal^t. In the autumn he made a new irruption into the territories of Granada; where he did infinite mischief; insomuch, that Ishmael, king of Granada entered into a negociation, which, however, was attended with no effect; and, at length, the season being spent, the Christian army retired^u. The grand-masterships of St. James and Alcantara being vacant, the king took their revenues to his own use; but the marquis de Villena was secretly ambitious of attaining the first. In this aim he was traversed by Michael Luc, whom the king had lately taken into his good graces, and who, though a man of very mean birth, was supported by the duke de Medina Sidonia, the bishop of Cuenca, and others of the nobility, out of spleen to the marquis; though the people in general bore an equal hatred to them both^w; but, of the two, Don Michael had a better character.

A D 1455.

The late treaty of peace concluded at Agreda appeared to the king of Castile of so great consequence, that he resolved to send ambassadors to the king of Arragon, then at Naples, in order to have his concurrence, in which he met with all the success he could desire. In the war with the Moors it was otherwise; he gave them, indeed, a great deal of disturbance, destroyed their country, and took some places of little importance, but there happened nothing decisive; and it was of very ill consequence to let the infidels see armies of forty or fifty thousand men entering their territories in a hostile manner, and quitting them again in a few weeks. After his summer expedition was over, the king had a strong inclination to visit all the sea-coast as far as Gibraltar, which design he accomplished, under the protection of a proper escorte. There, having a sight of the opposite continent of Africa, upon the invitation of the governor of Ceuta, he took a resolution of

^s Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Enriques del Castilio.

^t Faria y Sousa.

^u Chron. de los Moros de

Hispan.

^w Chron. de los Reys Catholicos, &c. Ferreras.

going thither in a small vessel, and with a few attendants, a design which alarmed the principal persons about him exceedingly. The king, persisting in his own scheme, traversed the streight of Gibraltar, and, after a few days amusement at Ceuta, where the governor omitted nothing that could give him pleasure, he returned safely, though not without some difficulty and danger, to Tarefa; and there he was so unlucky as to hear that the bishop of Jaen, and the count of Castenada, had been defeated in a battle against the Moors, and were carried prisoners to Granada*. Towards the close of the year, he sent the marquis de Villena to regulate with the chief justice of Arragon the disputes that still subsisted in reference to the commanderies of the order of St. James in that kingdom, which were to have been restored in virtue of the late treaty, and which, notwithstanding, remained in the hands of those to whom the king of Arragon had given them. The marquis, instead of executing this commission as he ought, took occasion from thence to enter into engagements of quite another kind. He suggested to the chief justice, Lanuza, that, very possibly, there might come a time when he might be as much persecuted in Castile as the grand-master Don Alvaro; in which case he was desirous of being sure of the king of Arragon's protection: with this view he offered, and actually took, an oath of fidelity to that monarch, which was administered to him by the chief justice Lanuza: and thus, without taking any care of his master's business, he returned to the court of Castile, very well satisfied with what he had done in his own. The whole country of Biscay being in commotion, through the disturbance excited by the factions of the Gamboas and the Otanez, the king found himself under the necessity of going thither. Arriving at St. Sebastians, he embarked on board a small vessel, that he might, with greater facility, examine the sea-coast; and, having ordered several small castles to be demolished, as serving only for retreats to such as were disposed to trouble the peace of the country, he visited most of the great towns, and quieted the whole province. He appointed Don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza governor of Biscay, and prepared to return into Castile*. Before he could put this design in execution, he received an unexpected account of a new

Makes an excursion to the coast of Barbary.

* Chronica de los Moros de Hispana. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia. y Zurita Annal. Arragon. * Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos, &c.

*Confederacy
against
him.*

confederacy, in which the archbishop of Toledo, the amirante, the count de Haro, the marquis de Santillan, the count de Alba, the count de Benavente, and several other noblemen had engaged, in order to procure a reformation in the government. They represented to the king, that, through his indolence and inattention, the laws had lost their vigour, industry was almost every-where ceased; that, jealous of his nobility, he gave up a great part of his private life to persons unworthy of his conversation; that, from hence, the civil administration was contemned, his military expeditions had no effect, and, while he governed, as it were, at random, and without any system, things were every-where declining into ruin and confusion. The king was exceedingly chagrined at this remonstrance; but, by the advice of the archbishop of Seville, and the marquis de Villena, he resolved to have an interview with the king of Navarre, in order to prevent that prince from giving any countenance to this new confederacy. They met accordingly on the frontiers, where it was agreed, that the infant Don Alonso of Castile should espouse the infanta of Navarre, and that the infant Don Hernando, of Ferdinand, of Navarre, should espouse the infanta Isabella of Castile^a. These points being settled, the king went to Segovia, and, having acquainted the lords of the confederacy, that, after the campaign, he would call an assembly of the states, in which all the grievances they had enumerated should be redressed, he desired them not to impede the progress of the war, which was of so great consequence to religion and the public welfare. In this declaration they seemed to have acquiesced, since the king took the field against the Moors with a great army, and yet there passed nothing of more importance than the year before. At length, the king of Granada proposed to acknowledge himself the vassal of Castile, and to pay a large annual tribute, to which proposal Don Henry listened; but hostilities, notwithstanding, continued to the close of the year^b. The rebellion of Don Alonso Fijardo, in Murcia, which had broke out about seven years before, continued still to give the king a great deal of trouble, in consequence of the support which, from time to time, he received from the Moors.

A.D. 1457.

*Rebellion
by Don
Alonso
Fijardo.*

Historians agree that it was not without foundation this monarch of Castile was suspected of impotence, notwith-

^a Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Chron. del Rey. Don Henrique Quarto. ^b Chron. de los Moros de Hispan.

standing which infirmity, he had several mistresses, for the sake of one of which, of the noble family of Castro, he treated the queen extremely ill. The disorders of his family, though they might resemble, were by no means comparable to those in his government; for, knowing that he was hated by many, he suspected most of his nobility, and laboured to secure himself from the effects of their resentment by raising up new families, supposing that gratitude must naturally follow favours. With this view he made Michael Luc his secretary constable, and gave him several towns that belonged to the crown; which places, however, refused to acknowledge him for their lord. The mastership of Alcantara he bestowed on Gomez de Solis, a gentleman of good family indeed, but very poor. Don Juan de Valencuela he made grand-prior of St. John, and Bernard de la Cueva master of his household. The deaths of the marquis of Santillan and of the count de Triveno were favourable to the king, as they proved the cause of some disputes amongst their relations. The rebellion of Fijardo was entirely suppressed, and the war A.D. 1453. with the Moors carried on with various success. In the course of this year died Don Alonso, king of Arragon and Naples, in the last mentioned city, leaving all his dominions in Spain to his brother Don Juan king of Navarre, who became now a very potent, as he had been always a very active prince ^d. The former league amongst the nobility being in some measure broken, was again renewed, by the industry of the archbishop of Toledo; upon which the king surprised some of their places, and amongst the rest deprived the unfortunate house of Luna of the best part of their estates, though they had given him no sort of provocation. The marquis de Villena was sometimes in full possession of his master's favour, and at others under a cloud. His brother Don Pedro Giron, master of Calatrava, who had been a malecontent from the beginning of the king's reign, was, by his brother's interest, restored to the good graces of his sovereign, about the end A.D. 1459. of this year, or the beginning of the next ^e.

The confederate lords transmitted to the king, by the hands of Diego de Quinones, a memorial, in which they exhorted him to observe the laws of the kingdom, which he had sworn to at the time of his accession, and not to

^e *Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos de Hernando del Pulgar.*
^d *Zurit. Annal. Arragon.* ^e *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, &c.*

violate the liberties of the church, the nobility, or the people; to cause exact and impartial justice to be every where administered; to dismiss the Moors that were about his court; to reform his household, to carry on the war against the king of Granada with effect, in virtue of the great supplies he had received; to cause the infant Don Alonso and the infanta Isabella to be educated in a manner suitable to their rank; and to declare the former his successor to the throne, since he had no posterity of his own. The king answered, that he would consult of those things with the lords of his council ¹. Don Bernard de la Cueva was now become his principal favourite; and, being very desirous of making his fortune, he proposed to the marquis of Santillan that he should marry his youngest daughter, in which design he prevailed. The king by restoring him to his estates, and giving the title of count to his son-in-law, Don Bertrand, detached him from the confederacy: but what gave him the greatest uneasiness was, the knowledge he had that Don Juan, king of Arragon, and Navarre had deserted his alliance, and subscribed to the confederacy; in order to shew his resentment for which, he entered into a secret negotiation with the prince Don Carlos, and offered him his sister the infanta Donna Isabella, in breach of his former agreement with the king his father ². The next year was a scene of strange confusions; Don Henry took the Catalans under his protection, who had revolted from their sovereign, on behalf of the prince Don Carlos; he invaded Navarre, and took some places there, reconciled himself to most of the malecontents, and, to gratify them, made various alterations in his government. Finally, he brought the infant and infanta to court; so that there was a seeming harmony beyond any thing that had appeared during his reign. There was, however, much deceit and falsehood on both sides. The king trusted these great lords from necessity, and there was abundance of fraud in their service; for, in the midst of the war they carried on against the king of Arragon, they held a private correspondence with that prince, as did also the marquis of Villena, and some others of the favourites. By these intrigues a new treaty was made between the two crowns with such secrecy, that the prince Don Carlos could learn nothing of its contents; and this

¹ *Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia.*
² *Zurit. Annal. Arragon.*

raising many suspicions in his mind, threw him into a fever which cost him his life ^h. *Death of infant Don Carlos.*

In the beginning of the year the queen Donna Joanna of Castile was delivered of a daughter, styled the infanta Donna Joanna, on account of whose birth vast rejoicings were made ⁱ. *The queen is delivered of a daughter.* The king had treated his consort, during the course of her pregnancy, not only with the utmost tenderness, but with all possible marks of affection, and even of fondness, with a design to persuade his subjects that this was his daughter as well as the queen's; a fact, which, notwithstanding all the pains he could take, very few or none believed. However, she was solemnly baptised; the marquis of Armagnac, a French nobleman of the first rank, and ambassador from that crown, the marquis de Villena, and the infanta Donna Isabella, being sponsors; the archbishop of Toledo performed the ceremony; and two months after the king caused her to be acknowledged heiress of the crown, the infant Don Alonso and the infanta Donna Isabella being the first who swore to the succession. Yet some of the nobility privately protested against this preposterous proceeding; and the whole nation was so thoroughly persuaded that the child was not the king's, but the daughter of Don Bertrand de la Cueva; that they bestowed upon her the surname of Bertraneja ^k. The archbishop of Toledo, supported by the rest of the secret friends of the king of Arragon, prevailed upon the king Don Henry to make a tour to Alfaro, while the monarch before mentioned was at Tudela, that, being so near each other, all the little points that were still unadjusted might be the sooner settled. But, while the king of Castile was thus employed, the queen, whom he had left at Aranda, miscarried, by an unlucky accident, of a son, upon which he went immediately away to comfort her, and sent the marquis de Villena to Saragossa in order to conclude and sign the treaty with the king of Arragon and Navarre. Upon his return to the court, then held at Madrid, he met with a very gracious reception from the king his master; notwithstanding which he could not help envying the credit of the count of Ledesma both with the king and queen ^l. The war with the Moors was still continued, through the perfidious behaviour of the king of Granada; and as the

^h Cartas del Bachiller Fern. Gomez de Ciudad Real. ⁱ Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia.
^k Ferreras. ^l Abarca.

*Gibraltar
reduced.*

A.D. 1462.

*The king
of Castile
proclaimed
sovereign
of Catalu-
nia.*

king trusted the war to his favourites, and supplied them abundantly, it was carried on in such a manner as drove the infidels to the greatest distress, and at length excited a mutiny in the city of Granada^m. The most glorious event, however, of the campaign, was the reduction of Gibraltar, with which the king was highly and justly pleased. Such, however, was the inconstancy of this prince's temper, that, notwithstanding the peace lately concluded with Arragon, he entered into new intrigues with the Catalans, who pretended to prove from an old genealogy that he was their legal master; and, upon his sending a body of troops to their assistance, they proclaimed him their sovereign on the 13th of November, in the city of Barcelonaⁿ; not out of affection to him, but to obtain assistance against the king of Arragon.

As the step which the king had taken, in relation to the principality of Catalonia, was altogether inconsistent with the notions of his favourites, they endeavoured to persuade him to refer all points in dispute to the arbitration of Lewis XI. king of France, which project, by a piece of very dextrous management, they brought about. All things, however, had like to have been overturned again, by the arrival of fresh deputies from Catalonia, whose propositions the king would needs hear himself in council. They began with shewing, that, by several notorious breaches of the constitution, the king, Don Juan, had lost all right to the realms of Arragon and Valentia, to which he might form just pretensions, which most of the nobility would willingly support: and as to the principality of Catalonia, as the king, by his own consent, had been proclaimed their sovereign, they had the same claim to his protection as the rest of his subjects. In the council, however, the archbishop of Toledo and the marquis of Villena alleged, that the Catalans were naturally a mutable, restless, and rebellious people, whom it was impossible to content; and that, besides, having referred all things to the decision of the king of France, nothing ought to be undertaken till that was known; in which argument, though against his own opinion, the king acquiesced. It was afterwards agreed, that the two monarchs of France and Spain should have an interview on the frontiers, and that, in the mean time, hostilities should

^m Chronica de los Moros de Hispana. ⁿ Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos de Hernando del Pulgar. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

cease between the crowns of Arragon and Castile. In a little time, the French monarch, as umpire of the disputes between the two crowns, made his award to this effect: that the king of Castile should quit all pretensions to the sovereignty of Catalonia, and withdraw his troops immediately out of Arragon and Navarre; and, on the other hand, that the king, Don Juan, should yield to his cousin of Castile the town of Estella, with all its dependencies, and pay him likewise the sum of fifty thousand florins in gold, for the expences of the war: it was also settled that the queen of Arragon should remain as a hostage in the hands of the archbishop of Toledo, till this sentence should be executed in all points°. The king of Castile had afterwards an interview with Lewis the Eleventh on the river of Bidasoa, which was very short, but they parted with a thorough hatred and contempt of each other; the king of Castile having about him a great number of his favourites, but particularly the count of Ledesma, most richly dressed, and, in a manner, covered with jewels; whereas the duke of Burgundy, the marshal, and the admiral of France, in compliance with the king's humour, were very modestly dressed, and Lewis himself so plain, that it was impossible, by any exterior mark, to know he was a sovereign^p. Don Henry of Castile and Don Juan of Arragon were equally dissatisfied with his sentence. The former had lost much, the latter was to lose something, and the humour of kings is to part with nothing. The king of Arragon, instead of delivering up Estella, put a strong garrison into it; and, on the complaint of the marquis de Villena, threw the fault upon the states of Navarre, declaring that he would take no umbrage at seeing the place reduced by force. A new negotiation was set on foot; and the marquis, after having brought the king his master into Navarre, with so poor an army that he was able to do nothing, accepted a few inconsiderable places as an equivalent for Estella; upon notice of which the archbishop of Toledo released the queen of Arragon, as if the treaty had been fully executed^q. The king of Castile's eyes being thus opened, he not only refused to approve of this convention, but dismissed the prelate from his councils, and threatened the marquis with his resentment. In the autumn the king marched

*Interview
between
this king
and Lewis
XI of
France.*

° P. Daniel Histoire de France. Zurit. Annal Arragon.
^p Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Henriques del
 Castillo. ^q Abarca. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.
 Ferreras.

with a numerous army against the Moors; but, being on the frontiers of the kingdom of Granada, that monarch sent his tribute and very rich presents besides; upon which the king dismissed his troops, and went to pass the Christmas at Seville.

Another powerful league formed against the king of Castile by the archbishop of Toledo and divers noblemen.

In the beginning of the ensuing year the king, for his amusement, made a tour to Gibraltar, the recovery of which he considered as the great glory of his reign. On his arrival he heard that the king of Portugal was at Ceuta, upon which he sent him a civil invitation to come to Gibraltar, which was accepted; but while he was employed in concerting some schemes with that prince, to whom he promised his sister Isabella, and renewing the truce with the Moors, things had taken a bad turn in Castile. The archbishop of Toledo and the marquis de Villena, finding that they were totally shut out of the government, resolved to put themselves once more at the head of a confederacy, into which the amirante, the counts of Placentia, Benavente, Paredes, Miranda, and Osborne, the archbishop of Compostella, the grand-masters of Calatrava and Alcantara very readily entered; so that this league became more formidable than any that had been hitherto made. The king being informed of this association by the queen, resolved to return, without delay, into Castile, where he found the great affair of the peace of Arragon set upon an equitable foundation, through the fear that the archbishop, the marquis, and even the king of Arragon himself, were under, that their contrivances should reach the ear of Lewis the Eleventh, who, in that case, would not fail to enter Arragon: the king, therefore, seeing no reason to refuse it, ratified the peace, not without hopes that this step might pacify the malecontents: he carried the queen also to an interview with the Portuguese monarch at Guadalupe, where he again promised him his sister Donna Isabella, and really meant to keep his word; but when he mentioned it to the infanta, she shewed no inclination to become queen of Portugal, but pretended that a princess of Castile could not marry without leave of the states, to whom, therefore, the king engaged to propose it. As he persuaded himself that he had still a great influence over the marquis de Villena, he had a mind to confer with him, in hopes of dissipating the league; to which interview, after hostages were exchanged, the marquis consented, as having an inclination to detach the archbishop of Seville, the most able man the king had about him, and to bring him over to the male-

contents,

contents. At this conference he told the king, that the archbishop was the principal object of his own apprehensions, and of those of his associates; and that, if he would arrest and keep him confined, he made no question of bringing all the lords back to his service. The king very readily consented, and the marquis no sooner left him, than he sent a domestic to inform the archbishop of the danger he was in; upon which that prelate, knowing no other way to be safe, went immediately to the count de Placentia, one of the league, and to whom he had been the greatest enemy, to demand his protection^r. The count received him with open arms; the detachment of the king's guard, sent to secure him, returned without their prisoner; and thus the marquis de Villena, not satisfied with betraying the king, contrived to make him an instrument in betraying himself^s. The success attending this enterprize encouraged him to form one still more extraordinary; and this was, to surprise the king at Madrid, to deliver the infant and infanta out of his custody, and to bring away the count of Ledesma; but though it was well laid, and well conducted, this scheme miscarried, and the king threatened him with the utmost weight of his resentment^t. This miscarriage did not deter him from a bolder enterprize than the last: he prevailed upon Donna Maria de Padilla, the wife of Ferdinand Carrillo, who lay in the room contiguous to their majesties bed-chamber, to admit his adherents in the night, and, by these means, he hoped to secure the persons both of the king and queen; in which design he also very narrowly failed^u. After all these intrigues, he engaged the king to promise an interview with some of the malecontents; but, on the road, he had intelligence of their having assembled a great force in order to seize him and those who were about him, upon which he thought proper to retire^v. To shew, in a particular manner, how much he was piqued at the marquis, he, with great solemnity, invested Don Bertrand de la Cueva, grand-master of the order of St. James, an office which he knew was the principal object of the other's ambition. The king of Arragon and Navarre having entered into the league, the confederates held a general assembly at Burgos, where, upon the 29th of

^r Roderic Santii Hist Hispana, par. iv. Ferreras. ^s Cartas del Bachiller Fernan Gomez de Ciudad Real. Marian. ^t Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Henriques del Castillo.
^u Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Ferr. ^v Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia.

*His agree-
ment with
the male-
contents,*

September, they subscribed an instrument, comprehending the reasons of their revolt, and their plan of regulating public affairs. This they not only subscribed, but solemnly swore to adhere inviolably to each other, till every point of it should be accomplished; and this league they caused to be transmitted to Rome, to prevent the king's obtaining any bulls from pope Paul the Second against them*. In the mean time, the king being informed that one of the principal points of the confederacy turned upon his impotency, and compelling the nobility to swear to a supposititious child, he pretended to establish his capacity by judicial proofs, and the testimony of his physician, which served only to lessen and debase his character. Yet, before the end of the year, without the participation of his council, he ventured upon another private interview with the marquis of Villena, at which he concluded an agreement with the malecontents upon the following terms; that he should deliver the infant Don Alonso to the marquis, and acknowledge him for his heir and successor; that Don Bertrand de la Cueva should renounce the grand-mastership of St. James, and the pope be desired to confer it, by a bull, upon the infant Don Alonso, agreeable to his father's will; that the regulation of public affairs in general should be left to four lords, two of whom should be named by the king, and two by the league, and, if they could not agree, the judgment of Alonso de Oropesa, prior of the order of St. Jerom, was to be decisive; for the due performance of all which articles Don Bertrand de la Cueva was to surrender himself a prisoner in the fortress of Portillo, under the care of Gonzalez de Sahavedra, and the count de Benavente was to do the like in the fortress of Mucientes, in the hands of the count of St. Martha, by which the king hoped to secure his own quiet and that of his subjects⁷.

A.D. 1464.

When the contents of this convention were known, several of the king's faithful subjects laboured to shew him how much he had been deceived, and that the sole aim of the confederates was to get the infant Don Alonso into their hands, with a design to place him at their head, and perhaps to make him king. These suggestions alarmed Don Henry extremely; but his secretary, Don Alvaro Gomez, who was the creature of the marquis de Villena,

* Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia. y Abarca, Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Henriques del Castillo.

terrified him so much with the thoughts of reviving all past disturbances, if he did not execute punctually every article of his treaty, that he no sooner understood the marquis of Villena was come to Sepulveda to receive the infant, than he carried him thither, and put him into his hands. He afterwards repaired to Cabezón, where he gave audience to all the confederates in a body; and after each of them had kissed his hand, Don Alonso was declared his successor to his dominions, and promised to espouse Donna Joanna^z. Don Bertran, count of Ledesma, being present, they summoned him to resign the grand-mastership of St. James, the most honourable and most beneficial office in the kingdom. "I will do it (answered Don Bertrand de la Cueva), with much greater pleasure than I received it, because it is to render a service to that most gracious monarch to whose favour I owe that, and all that I have, and am glad of affording a testimony to his subjects, that he has raised at least one man of fidelity and merit." This answer astonished the whole league, and made the marquis of Villena blush^a. The king rewarded him bountifully, gave him the town of Albuquerque, with the title of duke, four other lordships, with a pension of three million and a half of marvadies^b. They proceeded next to name commissioners; the king chose Don Pedro de Velasco, eldest son to the count de Haro, and Gonzalez de Sahavedra; and the league appointed the count of Placentia and the marquis de Villena. The marquis in a little time corrupted the king's commissioners, so that he carried every thing at his pleasure, and without being obliged to consult Alonso de Orospeza, a person of incorruptible integrity, whom the confederates named for umpire, merely to give a lustre to their cause. The king having discovered the defection of his commissioners, and the treachery of his secretary, the marquis de Villena had recourse to a new artifice; he prevailed upon the archbishop of Toledo, and the amirante, to make a shew of quitting the confederacy, and going over to the king. Don Henry received them so graciously, and trusted them so entirely, that they began to be in earnest on his side, when the marchioness of Villena came to Madrid, and by her arts recovered them to the league; and, which was more extraordinary, persuaded the king that her husband

^z Francisci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan. Marian. Fer ^a Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Palentia.

^b Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv.

*His refusal
to perform
articles.*

*The confederates de-
pose him,
and declare
for the in-
fant Don
Alonso.*

was still loyal in his heart, and would take an opportunity of doing his majesty good service. By the advice of the archbishop of Toledo and the amirante, the king annulled all that had been done by the commissioners, summoned the confederates to restore to him his brother, and threatened to declare them traitors if they did not. Upon this citation they called a general assembly at Placentia, and soon after another at Seville, where it was publicly debated, whether they should depose the king, and advance the infant Don Alonso to the throne? The agent of the archbishop of Toledo argued warmly for the affirmative, which was as warmly opposed by the marquis De Villena; but at length, after taking the opinion of some lawyers, they agreed that the king should be deposed^c. He was at this time preparing to reduce Salamanca, and the count of Alba de Tormes was the first nobleman in Spain who declared for him. The archbishop of Toledo and the amirante attended him upon this occasion; by their advice, he resolved next to besiege Arévalo, upon which they took their leaves, and promised to repair thither with their forces, receiving each of them money from him for that purpose. The king waited for them long, and sent to them often; at length the prelate desired he would not tire him with any more messages, for that he would quickly let him see who was the true king of Castile. At the same time, the amirante seized Valladolid, and declared for the infant Don Alonso^d. The king, amazed at this behaviour, retired sorrowfully to Salamanca, and would have sunk under his misfortunes, but for the prudent counsels of his sister Donna Isabella. As for the confederates they went roundly to work: having deposed the king Don Henry, with great solemnity (H), they declared the infant Don Alonso king,

^c Rod. Santii, Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Ortiz de Zuniga. Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Henriques del Castillo.
^d Chronica de los Reyes Catholicos de Hernando del Pulgar. Ferr.

(H) There is not any event in the Spanish, or, to say the truth, in any other history, the record of any transaction more extraordinary or more extravagant than this: the malecontents caused a theatre of vast extent, in the great plain that lies on one side of the town of Avila, to be erected, so that all the multitude resorting thither might see and hear every thing that was said or done; on this a magnificent throne was placed, upon which was seated the figure of the king Don Henry, with the crown upon his head, the sceptre in his hand,

king, and raised an army to establish him on the throne ^e. The archbishop of Toledo, who had the best head and the worst heart in the whole assembly, proposed marching, without loss of time, to crush the king at Salamanca. The marquis De Villena raised many difficulties, and in the end diverted that motion: at the same time he gave notice to the king to be upon his guard ^f. His sole view was to put the world in a storm, as not knowing how to steer in calm weather. The confederates marched with their forces, and besieged Simencas. The king was, for once, the better for the marquis's advice, and wrote to the

^e Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Ortiz de Zuniga. Zurit. Annal Arragon.

^f Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia.

hand, the sword by his side, the royal robe on his shoulders; and, in a word, with every other ensign of majesty then in use. A herald then mounted the theatre, and read with a loud voice, a declaration, containing the motives which appeared to them sufficient for deposing and depriving him of the royal dignity. At the same time that he began to read, the archbishop of Toledo, the marquis of Villena, the count de Placentia, the grand-master of Alcantara, the counts of Benavente and Paredas, went up to the figure. The archbishop took off the crown, the marquis de Villena took away the sceptre, the grand-master pulled off the sword, and the other three stripped away the rest of the ornaments; after which they kicked the figure away from the throne with their feet, adding the most abusive and insulting language to these actions, which the populace beheld in profound silence, except that here and there some individuals burst into tears (1). Then the infant Alonso mount-

the theatre, and being carried on the shoulders of those who were present, was at length seated on the throne. All the prelates, noblemen, and persons of rank and property, who were present, did homage to him, and the trumpets sounding, the standards were displayed in his name; those who assisted in this strange scene crying, according to the custom of those times, "Castile! Castile! Long live the king Don Alonso of Castile, Leon, &c. (2)." Besides those who were actually concerned in this act of deposition, the amirante, the grand-master of Calatrava, the counts of Luna, Castro, Castaneda, Ossorno, St. Martha, and many others, concurred in approving and applauding this subversion of the constitution, and pretended to own for their king, a child hurried about by a faction, who assumed a power of deposing their king for those acts of prodigality, to which they were indebted for their titles and splendour (3).

(1) Diego Henriques del Castillo. Alonso de Palencia, &c.

(2) Zuniga, Pulgar, Palencia.

(3) Mariana, &c.

nobility in pressing terms to come to his assistance. The count Alba de Torines was again the first: he was soon after joined by the duke De Albuquerque, the count De Trastamara, the marquis De Santillan, the count De Medina Cœli. By this time, the archbishop of Toledo began to grow jealous of the marquis De Villena; but that subtle politician had the address to deceive him again into a better opinion of him than ever: he feigned himself indisposed, grew in a few days dangerously ill, and having received those spiritual comforts that are only given at the point of death, he made a will, by which he recommended his widow and children to the care, and left all his estates to the direction of the archbishop, who, being thoroughly convinced by this instance of his friendship, rejoiced very sincerely at his recovery^g. This prelate having taken several places in person, repaired with all his forces to Simencas, to the relief of which the king advanced, with an army so much superior to the malecontents, that they retired with some precipitation, and if the king had pursued them, and prosecuted the war with vigour, he might have reduced them and reigned the rest of his days in peace; but, by a most unaccountable fit of credulity, he consented to an interview with the marquis De Villena, who engaged him to consent to a suspension of arms, and to dismiss his forces. He rewarded his friends very liberally, bestowing Carpio and some other places on the count of Alba; Astorga, with the title of marquis, on the count of Trastamara; Agreda and its territory he gave to the count of Medina Cœli; and the county of Gijon, with the title of duke, to the count of Valentia; neither was he unmindful or ungrateful with regard to persons of less distinction^h. This year died Ishmael, king of Granada, and was succeeded by his son Albohacen, a prince of a generous and martial spiritⁱ.

*Suspension
of arms be-
tween the
king and
the male-
contents.*

A.D. 1465.

In the beginning of the year, the archbishop of Toledo sent some of the clergy, who were his creatures, to Rome, in order to persuade the pope, that he and his partizans had done nothing amiss in solemnly deposing their king: but on the other side, the king sent the dean of Salamanca thither, to espouse his cause; which he did so effectually, that the pope would give no countenance to the rebels in Spain. The city of Valladolid declared for the king,

^g Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Marian. Ferrer. ^h Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Henriques del Castillo.

ⁱ Chronica de los Moros de Hispana. Francisci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispana.

who,

who, though he had been so often betrayed by him, would have gone from thence to meet the marquis of Villena, if he had not been with-held by the nobility about him. The king, however, received the archbishop of Seville, who came from him, and listened to one of the strangest projects that was ever devised. He proposed that Don Pedro Giron, grand-master of Calatrava, and brother to the marquis de Villena, should marry the infanta Don Isabella; upon which the archbishop of Toledo, the grand-master, the marquis, and all their dependents, would become once more good subjects, give the king a large sum in ready money, and sacrifice the infant Don Alonso; but this project the king was desired to keep a profound secret, and in the mean time to dismiss from the court the bishop of Calahorra, and the duke of Albuquerque, who they knew were men not to be imposed upon by such artifices. The king assented to this proposal, the bishop and the duke retired; the grand-master resigned his dignity to his third son, and the most pompous preparations were made for the wedding, though the infanta declared from the beginning that she would never give her consent. But when all things were ready, and the king disposed to force his sister, Don Pedro fell sick upon the road of a fever, and died ^k. The archbishop and the marquis returned immediately to the party of the infant Don Alonso, who received them very graciously, because he was afraid of them. The rest of the year was spent in war, without any other effect than that of ruining and destroying the people, and in treaties that came to nothing, through the artifices of the marquis de Villena, notwithstanding all the pains the pope's legate could take. At length the marquis became as odious to the malecontents, as he ought to have been to the king, who, notwithstanding, could never divest himself of that affection for him, which he so little deserved ^l.

A.D. 1466;

*Fruitless
negotia-
tions for
peace.*

The weakness of this prince was such, that even his best as well as his worst subjects, were driven into rebellion. The archbishop of Seville, in the beginning of this year, had prevailed upon him to go and confer with the malecontents at Bejar, where a scheme was laid to seize his person. All representations to prevent this false step were to no purpose; so that the inhabitants of Madrid were forced to take up arms to keep the king in his palace, from

^k Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Fer.
Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alons. de Palenc.

^l Chron. del

whence,

*Battle of
Medina del
Campo.*

whence, when he had laid aside all thoughts of going to Bejar, he proceeded to Segovia. Mean while, the infant Don Alonso went to Toledo, where some commotions had happened in favour of the king, where he was joyfully received, publicly proclaimed, and treated him with all royal honours^m. The king, perceiving that the rebels were reducing one place after another, and that many of the nobility grew cold in their affections for his service, resolved, while he had yet sufficient strength, to put the issue of things to a battle, and accordingly advanced for the relief of Medina del Campo. The rebels resolved to wait for him there: when the two armies were very near, the archbishop of Toledo sent to give the duke of Albuquerque notice, that forty persons had sworn not to suffer him to return alive, if he appeared in the field; and therefore advised him to take care of himself. The duke, suspecting the truth of this intelligence, invited a soldier of the enemy's advanced guard to come and speak with him, and sent him a passport; the man came accordingly, and being asked if this intelligence was true, he assured him it was, and that every body knew it in the camp: "Why then," says the duke, "tell those forty men, that I shall be in the field to-morrow, armed in such a manner, and with a scarf of such a colour;" and dismissed him with a rewardⁿ. This action happened on the 20th of August; the infant Don Alonso was there in person, having the archbishop of Toledo by his side, who wore over his robe a crimson scarf, embroidered with white crosses. The king, at the instance of the constable of Navarre, retired, with thirty horse, to a place at some distance; his army consisted of eight hundred lances, seven hundred light horse, and two thousand foot; that of the rebels was of much the same strength; the engagement began in the afternoon, and did not end but with the light. It was far from being decisive, though there might be about five hundred men slain on both sides, the king ordered his standard to remain in his camp, being unwilling to display it against his people, and by that accident it was taken. Both sides claimed and made rejoicings for their victory, which belonged to neither^o. The town of Segovia was soon after betrayed to the infant, who by that incident got his sister, the infanta Isabella, into his custody, but

^m Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Henriques del Castillo.

ⁿ Fer. Hist. de Hispana. par. ix. sect. xv.

^o Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Marian. Ferreras.

the Alcazar, in which were the king's treasures, was preserved. Nevertheless, he was prevailed upon to go thither, to confer with the malecontents, to whom he spoke better than his friends expected. He told them he would say little either of or for himself; he could not govern so great a country, but by his ministers and magistrates; that these he had often changed; and notwithstanding, had been generally abused; if they knew where to find him better, he was willing to employ them. But what he had chiefly at heart, and what he wished was also at their's, was the misery and distress of the poor people, the innocent victims of their passions and follies. He said it was plain that he was not accountable for this distress, either to God or man, as they had left him no power to protect them; but forgetting what was past, if they would yet take measures to make his subjects happy, and restore him to his authority, he would exert it for that purpose. They promised to consider of the matter, and the king delivered his queen into the hands of the archbishop of Seville, as a hostage for his making good his promises. The true design of this conference, was to cheat the king out of the Alcazar, which they could not so easily reduce, and to engage him to confirm to the marquis of Villena the grand-mastership of St. James, which he had obliged the infant Don Alonso to resign in his favour. This he very willingly did; and in return, the marquis obstructed the peace, to which most of the lords of his party were inclined; so that the bishop of Leon, the pope's legate, after severe reproaches, excommunicated them all ^p.

The malecontents excommunicated by the pope's legate.

As the rebels found themselves not a little hurt by these ecclesiastical censures, they sent two of their party to Rome, to make an apology to the pope, who told them they were rebels to their king, and tyrants to their fellow-subjects, bidding them go home, and pacify these troubles; and, as the Spanish historians say, telling them, if they did not, God would speedily call the infant, whose name they abused, and who was no more than an image in their hands, to another life, and leave them to answer for their own offences ^q. While they were thus employed, the king, Don Henry, went in person to assist in the execution of an enterprize for the recovery of Toledo, in which he narrowly escaped with his life; for though

Death of the infant Don Alonso.

^p Rainald. Roderic Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Ferreras.
^q Rainald. Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia. Marian. Ferreras.

his party received him privately into the city, yet the populace no sooner understood that he was in the cathedral church, than they attacked it with the utmost fury, and it was with great hazard that he escaped. A few days after, the populace changed their minds, and by the help of a little persuasion, drove out the partizans of the royal infant, and invited the king back. He went thither accordingly, and was received with the loudest acclamations by those who, but a little before, had thrust him out of the same place. The infant Don Alonso was then at Arevalo; and his party being astonished at the news, thought it proper that he should go to Avila. On the road he dined with his sister at Cardenosa, and retiring afterwards to sleep, was, in the space of an hour, found dead upon his bed, or at least senseless and dying^{*}. This incident happened on the 5th of July, when that prince was about fifteen (1). The archbishop of Toledo, and the grand-master of St. James, conducted the infanta Donna Isabella to Avila, where, at the desire of the party, the archbishop began to dispose her to take the title of queen; to which proposal she answered very modestly, that she was much obliged to them for their good affections, but that the crown of Castile did not belong to them to bestow, but was held from God by the laws, yet, if they would interpose with the king, her brother, that she might be declared the presumptive heir of the crown, which she took to be her right, she would be thankful: neither was she moved from this resolution, when she heard that she had actually been proclaimed at Seville and several other places^{*}. The archbishop acquiesced, and in a short time the accommodation was made. On the 19th of September, the king, and his sister the infanta, met

The succession settled on the infanta Isabella.

^{*} Francis Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Zurit. Annal. Arragon. ^{*} Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia.

(1) Among all the obscure passages in the history of these distracted times, there is none darker than the death of the infant Don Alonso. The historian Alonzo de Palencia, who wrote expressly the history of his reign, as he was pleased to call it, does not hesitate in the least in declaring that he was

poisoned by eating a trout, that made part of his dinner; and with the like freedom he tells us, that the author of this execrable action was the marquis of Villena. Some have ascribed his death to a stroke of the apoplexy; and others allege that he died of the plague.

the

the pope's legate, released the lords from the oaths they had taken to the princess Joanna; then they swore to the succession of the infanta Isabella; and the king, at the same time, undertook to send the queen and her daughter into Portugal[†]. The marquis de Castellan, who had served the king with great fidelity, thinking those services less considered than they ought to have been, and having Donna Joanna confided to his care, solicited the queen to come to him, also promising at all times, and at all events, to defend her, and to support her daughter's title. The queen joyfully accepted his offer, and, at the hazard of her life, made her escape from the archbishop of Seville: being let down by cords out of the window of her apartment in the castle of Alaejos, she mounted behind Don Lewis Hurtado, and retired to the marquis[‡]. Yet some writers say, that she found a gallant there, and that this gallant was the archbishop's nephew. The states were ordered to assemble at Ocana, but very few of the deputies went thither; and the king did not treat with much complaisance those that did come; so that the assembly was quickly prorogued to the next year[§]. The marriage of the presumptive successor was now the great point in view, upon which it was very evident that the security of the crown and the happiness of the people must, in a great measure, depend; the old king of Arragon, Don Juan, never lost sight of his first purpose of procuring that princess for his son, the infant Don Ferdinand; and, the better to qualify him for so great a match, he gave him the title of king of Sicily, which island was then a part of his dominions^{*}. In order to bring this important design to bear, he sent his agents into Castile, with instructions to apply themselves to his old friend the archbishop of Toledo, to his father-in-law the amirante, to the counts of Medina Cœli, Triveno, and other great lords. At the head of these agents was the constable of Navarre; besides excellent instructions how to manage the affair, they had blanks filled with promises, with the king's signature and seal, to be addressed to such persons as they should find it necessary to gain; and what was like, perhaps, to go farther than all their instructions and credentials, they had a very large sum in ready money,

A D. 1468.

[†] Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Rainald. Fer. [‡] Cartas del Bachiller Fernan Gomez de Ciudad Real. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Henriques del Castillo. [§] Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. par. iv. Fer. ^{*} Zurit. Annal. Arragon.

with full powers to dispose of it as they should think proper^y. The constable of Navarre found, on his arrival at the court of Castile, the archbishop of Toledo perfectly well inclined to the business; by his and the amirante's assistance, many of the chief nobility were gained; and the gold, and the king's letters, being properly distributed amongst the infanta's domestics, brought them to prefer the king of Sicily to all the princes upon earth. The grand-master, now more in favour with the king than ever, was exceedingly disturbed at this design, and engaged many of the old malecontents, more especially such as had been enriched by the forfeitures of the house of Arragon, to concur with him in opposing a marriage so prejudicial to their interest. To augment the strength of this party he devised a new intrigue, which indeed was his great talent: he struck in with the marquis de Santillan, and proposed to the king, with his consent, that Donna Isabella, his sister, should be given in marriage to the king of Portugal, and Donna Joanna, whom he owned for his daughter, to the infant of Portugal. With this scheme the poor king was highly pleased, and assured them of his concurrence^a. The grand-master founded next the archbishop of Toledo; but that prelate gave him a very round answer: he said, his ambition and his artifices had already cost his country too dear; that for himself, he was confident that he was now on the right side, from which nothing should ever move him to depart. The monarch of Portugal, at the request of Don Henry and his ministers, sent the archbishop of Lisbon to demand the infanta Isabella, who very decently, but at the same time very peremptorily, refused her consent^b. The grand-master, who foresaw this difficulty, had provided another match, and procured a French ambassador soon afterwards to make the like demand, in favour of the duke of Berry, the king's brother; but he also met with a refusal, which, though very civilly expressed, he bore but very impatiently^c. The grand-master directed his bosom friend, the archbishop of Seville, to post several bodies of troops in such a manner about Madrigal, where the infanta Isabella then was, that she found herself, in a manner, imprisoned; but the archbishop of Toledo and the ami-

^y Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto de Alonso de Palencia. Zurit. Annal. Arragon. ^a Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Henriques del Castillo.

^b Brand. Faria y Sousa. Chron. de los Reyes Catholicos de Hernando del Pulgar. ^c P. Daniel Histoire de France.

rainte quickly delivered her, and carried her to Valladolid. She had not been long there before the archbishop of Toledo and the lords of his party determined, that it was fittest for her safety and their's to conclude and solemnize this marriage without delay. Don Ferdinand having first signed such articles of marriage as that prelate had drawn (K), set out privately for Castile, and being safely conducted

Who espouses Ferdinand king of Sicily, son and heir of the king of Arragon.

(K) These articles, to the punctual performance of which the king Don Ferdinand was sworn in the presence of Don Gomez Manrique, who was sent into Arragon for that purpose, were in substance as follows: 1. He shall always acknowledge the pope for head of the church, and maintain all the ecclesiastical immunities. 2. He shall have all possible respect for the king Don Henry, his brother-in-law, and shall permit him to reign in perfect tranquility, conforming himself in all things to the accommodation that was made when he acknowledged that princess for his heir. 3. He shall administer justice impartially, and shall not infringe, in any respect, the laws, usages, prerogatives, and privileges, of any of the cities, towns, places, or persons, in his dominions, agreeable to the oath taken by the kings of Castile at their accession. 4. He shall not alienate any town, place, or fortress, without the consent of the princess. 5. All the royal orders shall be signed by them jointly, and he shall not put into the council, governments, or any other officers of state, any but natives of Castile. 6. All dignities, ecclesiastical and civil, shall be at the nomination of the princess. 7. He

shall grant a general amnesty, with respect to all things that may have happened in the former civil wars, and shall never set up any claim or pretensions to those lands and estates, which his father possessed in Castile, and which have been given away by the crown, and are in the hands of several of the nobility. 8. The archbishops of Toledo and Seville, and the grand-master of St. James, shall ever enjoy their ranks and pre-eminencies in the government of the monarchy, as shall also all the other lords and knights who have steadily adhered to the princess's party, and have contributed to secure to her the succession of the crown. 9. The king Don Ferdinand shall come and reside in the dominions of Castile, and shall make war against the Moors as soon as it is in his power; but otherwise shall not take up arms against any, without the consent of his consort; in case, however, that any civil war should break out in Castile, he shall furnish, as long as it lasts, a thousand lances from Arragon, to remain, during that space, in the pay of that crown. 10. Over and above the sum of one hundred thousand florins of gold, the princess shall have and enjoy the towns of

conducted to Valladolid, secretly espoused and afterwards publicly married the infanta, in the cathedral of that city, on the 25th of October^d. The king was extremely offended at the news; and though, upon receiving a letter from the princess at Truxillo, he seemed to be in a better temper, yet he gave no answer to it, but pursued his secret intrigues for altering the succession in favour of Donna Joanna, according to the advice of the grand-master and his adherents, who, for the present, were strongly attached to that princess^e.

A.D. 1410.

The infanta Joanna is betrothed to the duke of Berry, and declared heiress to the crown of Castile.

All imaginable pains were taken by the archbishop of Toledo and the amirante, as well as by Don Ferdinand and the infanta Isabella, to dispose the king in their favour, but he remained absolutely silent; and if at any time he gave an answer, it was, that he would consult the grand-master of St. James, and other great lords. This favourite, in the mean time, was labouring and endeavouring to procure an embassy from the French monarch, to demand Donna Joanna for the duke of Berry, whom the infanta Isabella had rejected, which at length he obtained; and the person sent upon this occasion was cardinal Albi, the same who had shewn himself so much piqued upon the former occasion. While the two courts were thus employed, there was a civil war carrying on in almost every province in the kingdom; in some, between such as adhered to the king, against those who were attached to the king of Sicily and the infanta; in others, between noblemen, who, setting the laws at defiance, decided the quarrels that arose between them by open force, and, in some popular factions, raised disturbances in almost every great town; so that peace was scarce any where to be found. The king, Don Henry, was extremely pleased upon the arrival of the French ambassador, paid him all the honours, and laboured to give him all the satisfaction imaginable; he also issued an edict, annulling

^d Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Francisci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan. Mariana. Fer. ^e Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonfo de Palencia.

Borja, Magalon, Elcha, and Syracuse and Catanea, in the Cervellen, in the kingdoms of kingdom of Sicily (1). Arragon and Vallencia; and

(1) Annales de la Corona de Arragon por Geron. Zurita. Historia General de Hispana por Mariana, lib. xxiv. Mayerne, Turquet, Belligarde, &c.

all that he had said or sworn upon the treaty of accommodation with the infanta Isabella, declaring the right of succession to be, as it always was, in the infanta Joanna, his and the queen's lawful daughter^f. The French cardinal, however, expected farther proofs, which the king resolved to give accordingly on a day fixed, which was the 20th of October; the king held a great assembly in the plain of Lozoia, to which, by his command, the marquis of Santillan brought the queen and her daughter: there the edict was publicly read in the king's presence; and all who were there took their oaths to the infanta Donna Joanna, except the marquis de Santillan and his family, who excused themselves, by saying they had taken that oath before; the cardinal then insisted that the queen should swear, as she did, that the princess was the issue of her body by the king; the king likewise swore that he verily believed her to be his own daughter: after which ceremony the count of Boulogne espoused her, with great solemnity, in the name of the French prince^g. The king issued his letters to all the towns in the kingdom, to inform them of this great event: and, on the other hand, Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella emitted a manifesto, setting forth, and insisting upon their rights, which they required all the people in the kingdoms of Castile, Leon, Toledo, &c. to maintain and defend; measures that only served to increase those disorders, by which these unhappy countries were but too much distracted and distressed^h. The king, Don Henry, having procured two briefs from the pope, one against the bishop of Segovia, and the other against the archbishop of Toledo, caused them to be signified to both these prelates. This expedient had some effect upon the former, but none at all upon the latter; who, on the contrary, wrote to the king, that his misfortunes were the effects of his credulity and irresolution; that he (the bishop) had nothing in view but the general good of his subjects; and that the king would do well to think of his own oath, and the concessions he had made in the treaty of pacificationⁱ. Don Henry, in the fury of his resentment, sent for four canons of the church of Toledo, pursuant to the pope's brief;

*Which is
harassed
by domestic
broils.*

^f Zurit Annal. Arragon. P. Daniel Histoire de France. Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Henriques del Castillo. ^g P. Daniel Histoire de France. Mariana, Fer. ^h Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alfonso de Palencia. ⁱ Rainald, Ferreras.

and having admitted them into his privy council, formed a process against the archbishop for high treason. The grand-master of St. James, however, interposed in behalf of his uncle, the archbishop, and advised the king to have recourse to milder measures. An offer was thereupon made him of an immense sum of money, large grants in favour of his church, and still greater to his two sons; but all without effect; that prelate giving for answer, that as he was at length on the right side, he would remain there, and stand or fall with it, let the pope or the king do what they pleased. As a proof that he was in earnest, he seized three of the four canons in their return to Toledo; but the king making reprisals upon some of his domestics, they were at length discharged. The disturbances throughout the kingdom rather increased than diminished; and, to heighten the miseries of the people, the Moors, with impunity, made an irruption into, and plundered the frontiers^k. Towards the close of the year the king, attended by the grand-master, had an interview with the king of Portugal, to whom he offered the infanta Donna Joanna; but that monarch looked upon things to be then in so unsettled a state, that he declined the proposition; and the king Don Henry and his favourite retired exceedingly dissatisfied^l.

A.D. 1471.

*A scheme
set on foot
for marry-
ing the in-
fanta
Joanna to
Don Henry
of Arragon.*

The grand-master was seldom at a loss for expedients; and though his address had failed him upon this occasion, yet he quickly devised a new scheme, more plausible and more likely to be attended with success than the former. This new contrivance was to bring about a marriage between Don Henry of Arragon, son to the infant Don Henry, who had formerly created so many and great disturbances in Castile, and the infanta Donna Joanna, whom the king acknowledged. His master approved this expedient exceedingly, assured him of his full consent, and desired him to leave no step untaken for the speedy accomplishment of this important negotiation^m. The grand-master saw, without any sign of pity, civil war raging in all parts of the kingdom, but he could not hear, without emotion, all these mischiefs attributed to himself. He perceived that the far greater part of the nobility envied and hated him; and that, by the common people throughout his master's dominions he was held in perfect execration; a confi-

^k Chronica de los Moros de Hispana. Ferreras.
Soufa. Mariana.

^l Faria y
^m Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto,
de Diego Henriques del Castillo.

deration which induced, or rather obliged him to labour with the utmost diligence in bringing this business to perfection, which, with very good reason, he considered as the king's business and his own. With this view he resolved to gain, if it was possible, the marquis de Santillan, and the potent family of Mendoza, of which he was at the head. He proposed, therefore, an interview with that nobleman and his friends, which was accepted, and there he explained the many advantages that would result from the marriage which he had projected: he observed, that it was the highest mark of gratitude they could give to the king and to his family; that Don Henry was of the royal blood of Castile; that his marriage with the infanta would divide the house of Arragon; that it would infallibly gain the count of Benavente, who was Don Henry's uncle by the mother's side; and that it would protect them from the resentments of Don Ferdinand, and the infanta Donna Isabella, from whom they had all things to fear. These arguments made a great impression upon the assembly; and the grand-master, that he might absolutely determine them to a concurrence in this scheme, offered, as he was lately become a widower, to marry a lady of the house of Mendoza; but as there was no such lady to give him, the confederates proposed that he should espouse Donna Maria de Velasco, the daughter of the count de Haro; a proposal which he embraced, and the marriage was soon after celebrated in the king's presence with great solemnity. The prince Don Ferdinand, in the mean time, made a tour into his father's dominions, where he met with the cardinal Don Roderic de Borgia, legate from pope Sixtus the Fourth, who presented him with a dispensation that was necessary to render his marriage valid; and the extraordinary honours that prince and his father rendered to the cardinal, attached him entirely to their interest, in the support of which he was afterwards very serviceable. At the same time Don Ferdinand acquainted the king Don Juan with the new scheme the grand-master had formed, of marrying Donna Joanna to Don Henry his nephew, to prevent which marriage, his advice was to secure the person of Don Henry, which was in his power; but the king, who had always treated him as his son, could not be prevailed upon to take so harsh a step, as he persuaded himself that he would do

ⁿ Francisci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan. Ferreras.
Annal. Arragon.

° Zurit.

nothing in an affair of such consequence without his consent, of which also he received the strongest assurances from Donna Beatrix Pimentel, his mother^p. It appeared, however, from the event, that Don Ferdinand had formed a better judgment of the young man's disposition; for his thoughts were so elevated with the prospect of a crown, that he went privately into Castile, in order to complete the marriage. He was received there with all possible respect, and treated in so magnificent manner, that he began to consider himself as the presumptive heir to the crown, and behaved himself with so much haughtiness towards the nobility, as lessened his interest with his friends; at the same time, that by offering to decide all differences with Don Ferdinand in single combat, and saying rashly, that he would give the city of Toledo if his competitor would accept the challenge, he provoked the house of Arragon to an irreconcilable enmity. Before we conclude this year, it is necessary to observe, that, amongst other disturbances, there happened one at Toledo, which occasioned a great deal of blood to be spilt^q.

A.D. 1472.

The arrival of the pope's legate in Castile was very acceptable to the king, upon account of that deference and respect which had been always expressed towards him by the court of Rome; so that, at his first audience, he treated him with much kindness and esteem. But when the king and his ministers found that this cardinal was entirely in the interest of the princes, and that he approved the conduct of the archbishop of Toledo, they were much chagrined. He was suffered, however, to hold a general assembly of the clergy at Segovia, where he made many useful regulations, and obtained a subsidy for carrying on the war against the Turks, which was his principal business, and which, as soon as he had obtained, he returned into Arragon^r. The seditions and disturbances in all parts of Spain were as frequent as ever. The nobility brought armies of several thousands into the field in their private quarrels; towns were sometimes taken by them after regular sieges, but more frequently they revolted or were surpris'd. In some places the people fell upon the Jews upon various pretences; but in many more places the new converts, or, as they are called in Spain, the new Christians, were exposed to the worst treatment ima-

^p Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia.

^q Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Henriques del Castillo.

^r Rainald. Zurit. Annal. Arragon.

ginable, both in their persons and properties. In a sedition of this kind at Jaen, the constable Don Michael Luc was killed by a shot from a cross-bow, as he was hearing mass in the cathedral; with which event, when the king was acquainted, he bestowed that high office upon the count de Haro, whose daughter the grand-master had married*. The duke de Medina Sidonia and the marquis of Cadiz had made war against each other in Andalusia for some years, as if they had been independent princes; but the former, that he might have some colour of authority, thought fit to declare about this time for the prince Don Ferdinand and the infanta Dona Isabella†. While things were in this state, Don Henry of Arragon expressed great impatience that the match was so long delayed; but the grand-master, who perceived this young prince wanted a tutor more than the king, but was of temper quite opposite to his, resolved to frustrate the project. With this view he told the king, that the only way to secure the crown to his daughter was to marry her to a crowned head; that the sending for Don Henry, contrary to his expectations, had strengthened the party of the princes, and that, therefore, the most prudent step he could take, was to delay the marriage, and, if possible, to renew the negotiation with the king of Portugal. Other kings were not more accustomed to command than Don Henry to obey; he therefore pacified Don Henry and his friends as well as he could, by promising them to propose the marriage in the next assembly of the states. During this interval, the grand-master convinced his partizans that Don Henry was like to give them more trouble than Don Ferdinand, and that therefore they must find such a husband for Donna Joanna as, with their assistance, might be able to clear the kingdom of both; with which declaration they were well enough satisfied‡.

Wars maintained by private noblemen against each other.

The treasures of the king Don Henry, which were still very considerable, remained in the Alcazar at Segovia, of which he had given the command to Don Andres de Cabrera, a very brave man, and his faithful servant. The grand-master was very desirous of having this place, which was indeed the best, if not the only thing the king had to give; but finding him more tenacious in this respect than

The grand-master attempts to surprise the castle of Segovia.

* Mariana, Ferreras.

† Chronica del Rey Don Henrique

Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia.

‡ Zurit. Annal Arragon.

Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Henriques del Castillo.

in any other, and not being able to obtain more than half a promise, he resolved to supply the other half by force. He had observed, that a great many of the inhabitants of Segovia were new Christians; his emissaries were employed to instigate the other inhabitants to fall upon them; and when this disturbance was at the greatest height, the grand-master was to come in with a body of regular troops to the assistance of the old Christians, and so make himself master of the place. This scheme was very closely laid, and very briskly executed, but without effect; for Cabrera had taken care to arm all those new Christians, and, when the insurrection was highest, issued from the castle, with a numerous body of horse and foot; upon which the grand-master retired, much disappointed, to Escalona ^w. In the assembly of the states few things were regulated; and the king, having obtained a free gift, gave himself little trouble about the marriage, notwithstanding that the count de Benavente had quarrelled with the grand-master upon that head. The whole court, in the mean time, being very much alarmed at the great cities declaring gradually for the princes, this increase of danger made the favourite more and more uneasy about the fortrefs of Segovia; so that at length he teased the king into giving an order to Don Andres de Cabrera to put it into his hands; which being signified to that old officer, he answered, that his loyalty and affection to the king would not suffer him to comply with an order which it was not fit for the king to give ^x. Under this dilemma, the grand-master prevailed upon the king to go in person to Segovia, and try to persuade Don Andres de Cabrera out of the fortrefs. The king went, and was received with all the duty and submission possible; but when Don Andres, and his wife, Donna Beatrix de Bobadilla, who had been long about the person of the infanta Isabella, had him to themselves, they very boldly laid before him the true state of his affairs. They told him, that Don Juan de Pacheco was a very little gentleman, till the breath of his majesty's favour had swelled him into a great lord; that he had repaid this favour with ingratitude; had displayed his colours in the field against his majesty's royal standard; had assisted in the ceremony when his majesty was deposed, and had placed his sceptre in the hands of the royal infant; that he had offered the crown to the infanta Isabella,

^w Marian. Ferreras.
de Alonfo de Palencia.

^x Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto,

to whose generous refusal his majesty owed the return of his favourite, and that he still wore that crown upon his head: they advised him, therefore, to disgrace a man who had so often sacrificed him to his interest, and to consent to a reconciliation with Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, which would restore a legal government to his subjects, and secure to his majesty the peaceable possession of his crown, which, otherwise, he could never expect^y. The king heard them without any token of displeasure, and at length seemed well enough pleased with the expedient. Donna Beatrix went to acquaint her mistress, in the disguise of a peasant: the infanta, Donna Isabella, by the advice of the archbishop of Toledo, resolved to put herself upon the fidelity of Cabrera, and accordingly, on the 27th of December, she came to Segovia; upon the first news of which the marquis of Villena, son to the grand-master, fled out of the town^z. The king saw her at his return from hunting, and behaved towards her with great civility and respect. He made her a visit the next afternoon in the Alcazar, and was so well pleased with her company, that he staid and supped; the third day they walked together publicly in the streets; and, on the fourth, the king, having presented most of the nobility about him to his sister, obliged her to go out of the Alcazar on horseback at the head of them, himself on foot holding the bridle. Such was the strange temper of this monarch, and such an ascendancy over him had all who knew how to comply with his humours while they were about him.

A.D. 1473:

Reconciliation between the king and the infanta Donna Isabella.

This ample and unexpected reconciliation was speedily made known by the infanta to her husband Don Ferdinand, whom she invited to Segovia, and, by the advice of the lords who were about him, he went thither, and was well received by the king^a. The lords who attended that monarch thought that a more public testimony of the perfect harmony that reigned amongst the royal family was requisite; and therefore the king, the infant, and the infanta, went publicly to the cathedral on the feast of Epiphany; afterwards they dined together in public; but, towards evening, the king complained of a violent pain in his side, and was carried to his palace in a very feeble condition; upon which there wanted not many who said

^y Mariana. Fer. ^z Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Henriques del Castillo. ^a Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Mariana. Ferreras.

He afterwards endeavours to apprehend her and her husband Don Ferdinand.

he was poisoned^b. The prince Don Ferdinand, and the infanta Donna Isabella, visited him every day during his illness. In that space their friends solicited Don Henry to renew the declaration he had formerly made in favour of his sister as to the succession: but, though this point was very artfully and assiduously managed, the king could never be brought to give any other than an evasive answer^c. As soon as he began to recover, he resumed his private correspondence with the grand-master, who had lately compromised all differences, and entered into a strict league with the duke of Albuquerque and the count of Benavente. The next thing he did was to contrive, as secretly as possible, to send troops into the town, to conceal them in the church towers, and to dispose every thing for surprising the princess, together with Don Andres Cabrera, and his wife Donna Maria, in the Alcazar: but Don Andres perceiving some motions, easily guessed at the rest, and took his precautions so speedily and so effectually, that the grand-master was forced to drop this project. However, by the advice of the infanta Donna Isabella, Don Ferdinand left Segovia, under pretence of paying a visit to the amirante. As the archbishop of Toledo was the only member of the king's council who openly espoused the cause of the princess, he took it amiss that they seemed to have a greater confidence in cardinal Mendoza, who was also of the king's council, and of their party, but secretly. The archbishop wrote his sentiments upon this subject to Don Juan king of Arragon, and, after expostulating the matter freely, desired to withdraw from their service. The king, and afterwards the princes, did all in their power to satisfy him; and Don Ferdinand, having a mind to see the infanta, desired his opinion, whether it was safe for him to come to Segovia; to which question the prelate answered, he might be safe for three days, but no longer^d. He went thither accordingly, retired at the time prescribed, and afterwards assisted the marquis de Santillan in taking Carrion from the count of Benavente, which, upon the interposition of the king, was done by treaty. About this time the ambassadors of the duke of Burgundy came to pay their respects to Don Ferdinand, and to invest him, by their master's command, with the order of the Golden

^b Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Henriques del Castillo.

^c Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Placencia.

^d Zurit, Annal. Arragon.

Fleece ; after receiving which, he went to pay the infanta another visit, but made a very short stay^e. He not long after surpris'd Tordefillas, which was in the hands of one of the king's favourites, who us'd the people most cruelly : but though he took care to represent this circumstance to that monarch in the fullest light possible, Don Henry could not help shewing that he was extremely offended with that action, the news of which he received at Madrid, having left the infanta at Segovia, to which place Don Ferdinand went for a little time, and then, the affairs of that kingdom requiring his presence, he set out for Arragon^f.

It was the great object of the grand-master's politics, and consequently of the king's, to keep the princes from the succession, from a very strong apprehension that the lofty structure of his greatness would quickly be demolished, if they were once seated on the throne. To prevent this catastrophe he judg'd two things absolutely necessary ; first, a great and well-conducted strength at home, and next a powerful foreign support. The shortest way to obtain the former appeared to be uniting in his own hands the three grand-masterships : as that of Alcantara was then in dispute, he ordered his bastard son Don Alonso Pacheco to reduce, with a good body of troops, most of the places belonging to the order, and to assume the title of grand-master ; not doubting that his favour with the king, and his money at Rome, would bear him out. To bring about the latter, he engag'd the king in a hunting-party towards the frontiers of Portugal, and, being now reconciled to the duke of Albuquerque, whose large estate, as well as his own, was derived from the prodigality of the king, he confided him to his care, while he went to press the Portuguese monarch to marry the infanta Donna Joanna, a match which would have rendered his system complete. He managed this as he did every thing of the same kind, with great dexterity and address, and at length brought the king of Portugal to promise, that he would take the matter into his serious consideration, and accept the proposition, if he could dispose things so as to afford them a probability of success. When he made a report of this negotiation at his return, to the king Don Henry, it did not afford him that satisfaction which he expected ; for, finding his health daily decaying, he foresaw that he

^e Mariana, Ferreras.
Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia.

^f Chronica del Rey Don Henrique

*Death of
the grand-
master.*

should not live to receive any benefit from the expedient. He resolved, however, to go to Madrid, the air of which was favourable to his constitution, and, at the pressing instance of his favourite, gave orders to the governor of Truxillo to surrender that place into his hands. This order was no sooner received, than the grand-master marched with a body of forces to Santa Cruz, at a small distance from Truxillo, to enforce it; but finding this method would be equally tedious and uncertain, he laboured to corrupt the governor, in which design, at length, he succeeded: yet, before the bargain was completed, he was suddenly attacked with a sharp pain in the throat, occasioned by an abscess, which quickly brought him, and all his great designs, to an end, on the 4th of October. Those who were about his person, and in his secrets, concealed his death till such time as Truxillo was surrendered, and then his body was transferred to Segovia, and buried there, pursuant to the directions he had given in his illness^g.

The news of the grand-master's death gave infinitely more disquiet to the king than to any of his subjects: to shew that he not only lived, but died in the full possession of his favour, he replaced him immediately by Don Diego Lopez Pacheco, marquis de Villena, his eldest son, whom he confirmed in the possession of all his father's estates, and requested of the pope a bull that might invest him likewise with the dignity of grand-master of St. James^h. But as there were other noblemen ambitious of that high dignity, they pressed the knights to hold a chapter immediately in order to secure to themselves a free election. This, however, was attended with an unexpected inconveniency: the knights of the province of Castile met at Tarrancon, and chose Don Roderic Manrique, count of Paredes, while those of the province of Leon assembled likewise, and chose Don Alonso de Cardenasⁱ. The marquis de Villena applied himself to the count de Ossorno, brother to Don Roderic Manrique, in hopes of bringing him to a treaty, and went to make him a visit. The count took care to be out of the way; but having given proper instructions to the countess, she caused the marquis to be arrested. This outrage was highly resented by the king, who,

^g Emanuel de Faria y Sousa. Mariana. Ferreras. ^h Chron. de los Reys Catholicos de Hernando del Pulgar. Ferreras. ⁱ Chron. del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia.

by the advice of the archbishop of Toledo, caused the fortrefs in which he was detained to be immediately invested, and, in a short time, the marquis was released upon a treaty, by which he obliged himself to deliver a place which his father had formerly promised to the count de Offorno, but which, notwithstanding, he could never be brought to surrender^k. The recovery of his favourite's liberty was the last considerable action of the king's life; for, very soon after his return to Madrid, the physicians who attended him declared, that, from the rigour of the season, the gradual diminution of his strength, and the return of his vomitings and pain in the side, he could not last long; that, therefore, they would do well to put him in mind of departing this world in a manner suitable to his rank as a king, and his hopes as a Christian. Cardinal Mendoza, the count de Benavente, and the marquis de Villena, went accordingly to apprise him of this melancholy prognostic; and the king, having called for the prayer of St. Jerom, confessed, and received the sacrament. The prior then asked him whom he declared heir to the crown, who were the executors of his testament, and where he desired to be interred. The king answered, that the infanta Donna Joanna was his sole heir; that the executors named in his will were cardinal Mendoza, the counts of Placentia and Benavente, and the Marquis de Villena; and that he desired his remains should be deposited near those of his mother, in the convent of Guadalupe. He fell soon after into an agony, and expired in the middle of the night of the 12th of December. His body was deposited in the convent of St. Jerom, at Madrid, where his obsequies were celebrated with great pomp, and afterwards cardinal Mendoza caused his body to be transported to Guadalupe, where, in gratitude for the favours he had received from him, he raised a magnificent monument, on the right hand of the high altar, to the memory of that prince, at his own expence^l.

*The king
dies at
Madrid.*

Thus died Henry IV. king of Castile and Leon, with all the dependencies on those crowns, after having sat many years on the throne, without having ever ruled. The

^k Marian. Ferreras. ^l Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia. Francisci Taraphæ de Reg. Hispan. Zurita. Annal. Arragon. Chronica del Rey Don Henrique Quarto, de Diego Henriques del Castillo. Emanuel de Fasia y Soufa. Marian. Ferreras. Mayerne. Turquet.

Spanish writers say, that he was pious and religious, which encomium must be understood of exterior acts of devotion; for his behaviour towards his father, and that indolence and want of application which rendered him contemptible while he wore the crown, were surely no testimonies either of piety or religion. He made the fortunes of a few of his minions, while he ruined those of his subjects: he was not, perhaps, cruel in his nature, and yet he caused rivers of blood to be shed through his indiscretion. It may be, he wished to make a better king; but history has recorded no proofs of his having endeavoured it. He wanted firmness in opposing his brother's usurpation; he wanted gratitude to his sister, who refused a crown, that he might wear it; he wanted spirit, justice, and common sense, in preferring Donna Joanna to the infant Isabella, if he was conscious of his own impotence, as the Spanish writers affirm. But in this we agree with Ferreras, that if, in the reigns of his predecessors, kings may discover what qualities they ought to acquire, and what methods they must take, to render their subjects happy, and themselves beloved, this reign alone will be a sufficient mirror for them to contemplate whatever they ought to decline or despise. These reflections are due to justice and to truth, and with these we shall conclude a period, fertile in great and glorious events, though, from the errors of this weak and unhappy prince, it ended meanly; for which, however, the splendour of the ensuing reign made full amends.

S E C T. VIII.

A general Description of the Kingdom of Arragon, its Situation, Extent, Produce, and Inhabitants, &c.

THE method we have hitherto pursued of treating the kingdoms erected in Spain, after the expulsion of the Moors, separately, obliges us, in this section, to give the reader as clear and as concise an account as it is possible of the kingdom of Arragon, which, in consequence of the marriage of Don Ferdinand king of Sicily, heir, and afterwards king of Arragon, became united to the crowns of Castile and Leon, and the great dominions annexed to them, by the courage and conduct of the monarchs who had governed those realms. At the time this union was made, Arragon was one of the most potent sovereignties in Europe, and little, if at all, inferior to Castile; for, besides the principality of Catalonia, and the kingdom of Valentia, which had been long united to this crown, the kingdom of Navarre belonged to it likewise, together with the kingdom of Majorca, including that island and Minorca, and those dependant upon them, as also the kingdom of Sicily. So that, in point of territory, of commerce, and maritime power, it was very considerable.

The great power and extensive dominions of the crown of Arragon at the time of its union with Castile.

The kingdom of Arragon, properly so called, is bounded on the north by the Pyrenean mountains, on the west by the kingdoms of Navarre, Old and part of New Castile, on the south by the kingdom of Valentia, and on the east by part of the same kingdom, and the principality of Catalonia. In ancient times it was inhabited by the Celtiberians, the Jaacetans, and the Sedetans^a. In length, from north to south, it contains about fourscore leagues, and its greatest breadth is about fifty. The common opinion is, that it derives its name from the river Arragon; but whoever considers the smallness of that river, in comparison of several others, but more especially the Ebro, or, as the ancients called it, Iberus, will scarce be satisfied with that account, and perhaps will think it more probable, that the denomination of Arragon arose from

A general description of the kingdom of Arragon, its situation, extent, and produce.

^a Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 1. Cluver. Introduct. Geograph. lib. ii. cap. 5. Luyts Introduct. ad Geograph. sect. ii. cap. 8. Geograph. Moderne, par Abraham du Bois, part i. cap. 3. art. xiii. *Etat present de l'Espagne*, liv. i.

the corruption of *Tarraconensis*, the name of the Roman province, by striking off the first letter. Besides the great river *Ebro*, which runs from north-west to south-east, and divides this country almost into two equal parts, it is watered by some other streams that are pretty considerable; such as, on the north of the *Ebro*, the *Cirea*, antiently *Cinga*, the *Gallego*, antiently *Gallicus*, and the *Isuela*; on the south side of that great river, the *Xalon*, antiently *Salo*, and the *Xiloca*. We may add to these some that are still less, such as the *Arragon*, *Riguelo*, *Guerva*, *Rio de Aguas*, *Rio Martin*, *Guadolope*, *Guadalaviar*, and the *Alhambra*. After all, this country, if we take it in general, is but dry and barren, the soil generally sandy, and, where it is not mountainous and stony, in some parts it is very nitrous, and every-where naturally hard and dry. In the vallies, however, where they have the advantage of rivers or rivulets, and in the plains where the want of these can be supplied by canals, it is very pleasant, and tolerably fertile, producing corn, wine, oil, flax, fruits of different sorts, and in some places saffron. The mountainous country is at present as wild and desert as can be imagined, and consequently useless and poor. It was not, however, always in this condition; for, in antient times, these mountains, that are now so despicable, were rich in gold and silver mines, and it is more than probable may be so still; but here, as in other parts of Spain, industry is extinct.

The genius and dispositions of the ancient inhabitants, and the reasons why, in a long course of time, they were so little changed.

We have already observed that the principal inhabitants of this country, in ancient times, were the *Celtiberians*; but concerning the origin of this nation, the most learned authors are very much divided. Some say that the *Celtes* from *Gaul*, having settled on the other side of the *Iberus*, joined the name of that river to their own, and called themselves, or were called by others, *Celtiberians*. But it is at least equally probable that the *Celtæ* were seated on the north, and the *Iberians* on the south side; and we are told that, after they had for many years wasted each other by obstinate and bloody wars, they at length concluded a peace, and very wisely contrived, in order to render it more lasting, to blend both nations into one by continual intermarriages; and from thence the *Celtes* and *Iberians*, being both lost, this new nation was styled *Celtiberians*. This seems to be the account hinted at by the poet *Lucan*, who might be well supposed to be thoroughly acquainted with its antiquity, being himself a native of this country. We have been the more particular with respect

respect to this nation, because they were always famous for a kind of supercilious haughtiness, that made them look upon their neighbours with an eye of contempt, which, whatever disadvantages it might be attended with, kept them pure and unmixed; so that their characters answered, for many ages, very exactly to what was recorded of them by the Latin writers. They were active, hardy, enterprising, enthusiastically fond of liberty, very magnificent, but at the same time very industrious. Marcellus, after a short war, taxed them at six hundred talents of gold. These dispositions were little, if at all, altered by their falling under the dominion of the Goths, from whom they sometimes revolted, and with whom they had continual struggles for the preservation of their liberties, which never any nation better deserved, since they were never by any nation either longer or better defended.

We may, therefore, justly presume, that when the rest of Spain was overborne by that dreadful inundation of Moors, these generous people retired in great numbers into their mountains and other inaccessible places, where they might enjoy that freedom which was to them felicity. It is also not at all improbable, that the districts which are still distinguished by the name of the county of Arragon, the principality of Sobrarve, and the county of Ribagorça, of which we shall take occasion to speak more particularly, were the countries to which these brave men retired, and in which, for their own security, they, by common consent, erected such a form of government, as least diminished their freedom^b. But to enter into the long and intricate dispute, which has embarrassed the most judicious Spanish antiquaries, whether the kings of Sobrarve were more ancient than those of Navarre, would be fatiguing our readers and ourselves to very little purpose^c. At present it is generally allowed that Don Sancho the Great, king of Navarre, was also count or earl of Arragon, in his own right, and master also of the other two little countries, now esteemed but provinces of this kingdom, as he became afterwards earl of Castile by succession, and consequently was the sole sovereign of what the Christians possessed in Spain, the kingdom of Leon and the earldom of Barcelona only excepted^d. He it was who, by dividing his dominions amongst his four sons, erected three new kingdoms; of one of which, that is,

In what manner the people of Arragon provided for the preservation of their religion and liberties on the irruption of the Moors.

^b Hieron. Blancæ Arragones. rerum Comment. present de l'Espagne, liv. i.

^d Mariana, Zurit.

^c Erat

Castile,

*Arragon
erected into
a kingdom
in favour
of his son
Don Rami-
ro, by Don
Sancho the
Great, king
of Na-
varre.*

Castile, we have already given the reader a compleat history: our present business is to gratify his curiosity in the like manner with respect to the other two.

We have elsewhere shewn that this potent prince died in the month of February, 1035; and we have likewise mentioned the fable of his eldest son's charging the queen his mother with adultery, and of the spirit with which his natural son vindicated her innocence^c. The kingdom of Navarre, with the principality of Biscay, and the province of Rioja, he left to his eldest son Don Garcia; to Don Ferdinand he gave the county of Castile, which he erected into a kingdom; to Don Gonçales he gave the counties of Sobrarve and Ribagorca, with the regal title also. These three were his children by Donna Munia Major, daughter to the count of Castile: but, besides these, he had another son by a mistress, as most writers say, though a learned writer of the history of Navarre has, with great warmth, vindicated his legitimacy. The name of this son was Don Ramiro, and upon him he bestowed Arragon, of which country, if he was not the first independent prince, he was, undoubtedly, the first king. But, before we proceed to the history of him and his successors, it will be necessary to shew precisely, or at least as exactly as we can, what the territories were, which he and his brother Don Gonçales possessed, in virtue of their father's will.

What now assumed the name of the kingdom, must have been, in fact, a country very little, if at all, more extensive, than that which now bears the title of the county of Arragon, having the Pyrenean mountains on the north, the kingdom of Navarre on the west, the territories of the little Moorish prince of Huesca on the south, and the country of Sobrarva on the east. In this little tract there are several fruitful and pleasant vallies, which were, in those days, thoroughly peopled, and exceedingly well cultivated. The city of Jaca was its capital, seated very pleasantly on the river Arragon, in the midst of a small plain, at the foot of the Pyrenees, abounding with corn and fruits, famous for its sheep pastures, and plentifully stocked with wild fowl; a place of great antiquity, and celebrated in those earlier ages for being the capital of the Jaccitani. It is for want of this distinction between the bounds of the kingdom of Arragon, at the time of its first erection, and those under which it is now

^c *Historia generale de Hispan. por Mar. li. l. c. l. iii.*

comprehended, that many, indeed most, of the histories of that crown are, in a manner, unintelligible, more especially to strangers. But when we remember that the kingdom given to Don Ramiro was not above an eighth part of what we now call Arragon, the subsequent narration will be, in all respects, consistent and perspicuous.

The country of Sobrarva lies east from the kingdom of Arragon, as we have just now defined it, having the Pyrenees on the north, the country of Ribagorça on the east, and the territories of some Moorish princes to the south. The capital is the town of Anisa, upon the river Ara, not far from the angle which it makes in falling into the Cinca. The country of Ribagorça has the Pyrenees on the north, Sobrarva on the west, the territory of the Moorish prince of Huesca on the south, and Catalonia on the east, from which it is divided by a river called Noguera Ribagorzana: the whole territory is about fifteen leagues in length, and six in breadth, composed of many rugged mountains, and some few pleasant vallies^f. These countries taken together, and which were not either much bigger or less than the kingdom of Arragon, formed the new kingdom that was now erected in favour of Don Gonçalves^g.

Don Ramiro, the year after he was settled in the kingdom of Arragon, espoused Gisberga, or Ermisenda, for we find her called by both names by cotemporary writers, the daughter of Bernardo Rogerio, count of Vigorra; a princess much celebrated for her beauty. About two years after his marriage, Don Gonçalves passing over the bridge of Monclus, as he was hunting, was assassinated by a domestic called Ramonet, who struck him to the heart with his javelin, but for what cause we no-where find^h. As he died without issue, the people thought fit to proclaim Don Ramiro, who, by this means, added the countries of Sobrarva and Ribagorça to his own, so that now he was master of half that part of the kingdom of Arragon which lies on the north of the Ebro. By this accession of territory he was become so formidable, that, for fear of a rupture with him, the Moorish princes of Saragossa, Huesca, and Tuleda, paid him an annual pension, by way of tribute; and the first of these princes consented, at his request, to the establishment of a bishop

A.D. 1036.

Don Ramiro espouses Gisberga, daughter of the count of Vigorra.

^f Geographie Moderne, par Du Bois, par. i. chap. 3. art. xiii.
^g Hieron. Blancæ Arragonens. Rerum. Comment. ^h Chron. Monach. Pennat.

*Invades
the territo-
ries of his
brother
Don Gar-
cia king of
Navarre.*

in his capital, to superintend the ecclesiastical affairs of his Christian subjectsⁱ. This success had a bad effect on the mind of this prince; who, forgetting the ties of blood, and the respect due to justice, made, in conjunction with the infidel monarchs before-mentioned, an irruption into the territories of his brother, Don Garcia king of Navarre, and laid siege to the town of Tafalla. The inhabitants of that place making a gallant defence, gave the king Don Garcia time to assemble his troops, with whom, in the midst of a dark night, he fell upon his enemies so unexpectedly, and with such vigour, that the best part of their forces were cut in pieces, Don Ramiro himself narrowly escaping upon a horse without bridle or saddle. Don Garcia, pursuing his blow, entered the kingdom of Arragon with an army, and reducing a great part of the country, forced his brother to retire into the mountains of Sobrarva. On his submission, however, and the interposition of some of the clergy, Don Garcia consented to a peace, and restored the places he had tak-

A.D. 1057. en^k. This harmony subsisted between them during the remainder of their lives; and the great power of Don Ferdinand king of Leon, being equally formidable to Don Ramiro of Arragon and to Don Sancho the son and successor of Don Garcia, in the kingdom of Navarre, they concluded a defensive alliance, for their mutual security^l.

About two years after, the king of Arragon, being advanced in years, having first settled the affairs of his kingdom and family by his will, made war upon the infidels, from a principle of devotion, and took from them the town of Loharia, which lies about four leagues from Hu-

A.D. 1060. esca^m. The very next year he held the famous assembly of Jacca, at which assisted several prelates from the Christian states in this neighbourhood, in which assembly Jacca was made a bishop's see, and endowed with very considerable revenues. The king established very strict ecclesiastical discipline throughout his dominions, and, as far as he was able, bound his successors to maintain and sup-

A.D. 1063. port what at this time was established. Three years after, finding the king of Castile engaged in a war with the Moors, he judged it a favourable opportunity to fall upon them likewise; upon which, with a formidable army, he laid siege to Grao, which belonged to the king of

ⁱ Rod. Tolet. rer. Hispan. Lucæ Tudens. Ferreras. ^k Rod. Tolet. rerum. Hispan. lib. iii. Lucæ Tud. ^l Monach Pennat. ^m Chron. antiq. de rebus Arragon.

Saragossa. This invasion obliged the Moorish prince to demand the protection of the king of Castile, to whom he had been for some time tributary. Don Ferdinand was at that time in the southern parts of his dominions; but his son Don Sancho, at the head of a small body of chosen troops, having the famous Cid for his lieutenant, came to the assistance of the Moors. Having surprized the army of Arragon, he defeated it entirely, made a great number of prisoners, and a dreadful slaughter, the king himself being among the number of the slain^a. This was the end of Don Ramiro, on whom, some say, pope Gregory the Seventh conferred the title of Most Christian^o, when he had governed his realm twenty-eight years. His body was interred in the monastery of St. Juan de la Pena; and he left behind him two sons, Don Sancho and Don Garcia, and two daughters, Donna Sancha and Donna Theresia. He had also a natural son Don Sancho, to whom he gave the county of Ribagorça, but he died without issue.

Is slain in a battle with the king of Castile.

Don Sancho Ramirez succeeded his father, with the general acclamations of his subjects^p. We are told by Mariana that he was eighteen years old at the time of his accession^q. He was a prince of great parts, as well as of a martial disposition. Having provided for the domestic security of his kingdom, in conjunction with the count of Urgel, he undertook an expedition against the Moors; in which that count, having gained two victories, was slain^r. The king Don Sancho was, at that time, before the town of Balbastro, a place of importance, situated on the little river Vero, not far from its confluence with the Cinca, the territory of which, being well watered, is very fruitful, in olive trees especially. The Moors made a long and brave defence, but at length the place surrendered, and the king caused it to be strongly fortified, making it also a bishop's see, by transferring the episcopal chair from Rhoda^s. Some years after he would have turned his arms against the Moorish prince of Saragossa; but, when he was ready to take the field, that prince very wisely put himself under the protection of Don Sancho king of Navarre, in respect to whom the king of Arragon dropped

Succeeded by his son Don Sancho Ramirez;

A.D. 1066.

who carries on a war against the Moors.

^a Zurit. Abarca. Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet.
^o Hieron. Blancæ Arragonenf. Commentarii. ^p Chron.
 Monach. Pennat. Zurit. Abarc. ^q Hier. Blancæ Arragonenf. Commentarii. ^r Zurit. Abarc. Marian. ^s Chron.
 Antiq. de Reb. Arragon.

A.D. 1076

Makes acquisition of part of the kingdom of Navarre.

his design for that time. Upon the assassination of this good prince, his brother Don Raymond, about three years after, at the intercession of the greatest part of his subjects, called Don Sancho of Arragon to the throne of Navarre, though, at the same time, there was a strong party formed in favour of the king of Castile and Leon, which, it was feared, would have produced a war between the two crowns; but by the great prudence and moderation of Don Sancho of Arragon, it was prevented, and he was left in the quiet possession of that part of Navarre that lay on the same side of the river Ebro with his own hereditary dominions^t. At this juncture pope Gregory was extremely pressing with both monarchs to acknowledge themselves feudatories of the holy see; to which end he employed a person of great capacity as his legate, but with no effect: for, being born kings, they could not be brought to become subjects^u. His power being now much augmented, it was not long before he took several places from the Moors of Saragossa and Huesca, who applied themselves to all their neighbours, representing it as a religious war, by which they were soon enabled to assemble a numerous army, and to offer Don Sancho battle, which he did not decline. Having gained a complete victory, he contented himself with securing the places he had taken, by which means, he extended and strengthened his frontier. The next year he took the field again, besieged the town of Bohea, and took it by assault. In the summer following he took Grao, and repeopled and fortified several places on the confines. The Moors ventured another battle at Piedro Pisida, in which they were again defeated, and the king Don Sancho was left at liberty to accomplish all he had undertaken^w.

A.D. 1083.

His exploits against the Moors.

A.D. 1084.

A.D. 1085.

As soon as he had perfected his barrier in such a manner as to cover his country from the insults of the infidels, he began to think of acting again offensively. While he meditated this irruption, the queen Donna Felicia died, on the 24th of April, which event, however, did not hinder the king's taking the field and investing Moncon, a place very strong both by art and nature, situated on the slope of a hill. The enterprize was difficult: but, being conducted with courage and caution, the king at length became master of the place, and rendered it one of the

^t Zurit. Abarc. Ferreràs.
Arragon Ferreras.
rum Commentarii.

^u Chron. Antiq. de Reb.
^w Hieron. Blancæ Arragonensium Re-

principal fortresses in his territories. These facts, however, shew us plainly, that those authors are probably in the wrong who affirm that he was present this year at the taking of Toledo. After allowing his subjects some years of repose, and causing several places to be repaired in Navarre, he once more assembled a puissant army, with a design to make a compleat conquest of the little principality of Huesca; but the Moors, discerning his superiority, offered to become his vassals, and to pay him a large annual tribute, which he accepted, resolving to turn his arms against Saragossa^x. It was with this view that he caused a strong place, to which he gave the name of Castellar, to be erected on the frontier, as near as possible to that city, by which it was, in a manner, always blocked up, and which might at any time be converted into a place of arms, as soon as he found himself strong enough to besiege that important place. As this had a very good effect, he proceeded soon after to take the same method in regard to Huesca, which quickly created some disturbances, and these furnished the occasion which he sought of declaring war^y. His mind being extremely set upon this conquest, it is said that he sent his son Don Ramiro into France, to take the habit of St. Benedict, in hopes this step might procure him the Divine assistance in this great and hazardous enterprize. The prince of Huesca, being thoroughly apprized of his design, had put the place into an excellent state of defence, raised very large magazines, drawn numbers of brave men from different parts of Spain, to augment his garrison, besides a considerable body of auxiliaries obtained from his neighbour of Saragossa. These precautions did not hinder Don Sancho from executing his design. Sitting down before the city, with a very numerous and well appointed army, he carried on the siege with such vigour, that the place had stood more than one assault, when, in bringing up a body of troops that had been repulsed, the king was, as he extended his arm in giving orders, mortally wounded by an arrow from the wall. Being carried to his tent, he expired, as some say, on the 1st of June^z, or, as others assert, on the fourth of that month^a, in the year 1094, and in the thirty-second year of his reign, leaving behind him three sons, Don Pedro, Don Alonso; and Don Ramiro.

A. D. 1092.

Is mortally wounded at the siege of Huesca.

^x Zurit. Monach. Pennat. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. Blancæ,

^y Hieron. Blancæ. ^a Annal Compotel. Hieronymi

^z Rod.

The two eldest were with him in the camp; and, before he died, he caused them to be sworn in his presence, never to abandon the design of reducing Huesca, which he looked upon as the first step towards driving the Moors out of that part of Spain.

A.D. 1094.

*Don Pedro
proclaimed
king.*

The infant Don Pedro was immediately proclaimed king by the army; and, having caused his father's body to be removed to the monastery of Jetus of Nazareth, at Mont Arragon, he turned the siege into a blockade, posting a strong body of troops in the castle of Luna, which the king his father had built in a very proper situation for that purpose^b. We are told by some writers, that Don Pedro bore the title of king of Sobrarva before his father's death; and that, having espoused a lady whose name was Bearta, he had by her a son of his own name, and a daughter Donna Isabella. He was in the prime of his life, and not at all inferior to his father either in conduct or in courage; and therefore he laboured assiduously, though with as little stir as possible, to draw together an army numerous enough to return to the siege. Abdaramen, the Moorish chief of Huesca, suspecting his design, repaired his fortifications, and sent to all his neighbours and allies to demand assistance; assuring them that he was but the first sacrifice, and that all the little princes of the Moors were in danger of being gradually destroyed; he likewise sent to the king of Castile, putting him in mind that, as he paid him an annual tribute, it was but just that he should protect him in the day of his distress. That monarch did not refuse him, but sent a considerable corps, under the command of Don Garcia count de Nájera, and Albocamen king of Saragossa marched with almost all the troops he had, to his relief^c. Don Pedro of Arragon, perceiving the enemy in full march towards him, resolved to leave but a small body before the place, and to advance with the rest of his army into the plain of Alcaraz, that the Moors might see he had no inclination to decline fighting. Both sides, therefore, being much in earnest, they came to a decisive engagement on the 28th of November, in which, though the Moors and their auxiliaries did all that could be expected from men of determined courage, yet, after a very obstinate dispute, which lasted many hours, they were totally defeated,

*Defeats the
Moors in
the plain of
Alcaraz.*

^b Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. Chron. Monach. Annal Compostella.

^c Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. Luc. Tudentis Chron.

with the loss of forty thousand men killed, and the count Don Garcia, and most of the forces he commanded, were made prisoners. This was, certainly, one of the most important and most signal victories obtained over the infidels, and, according to the humour of those times, it was ascribed to St. George, the patron of Arragon, who was reported to have fought in the first ranks, mounted on a white horse, having on his left arm a broad shield with a bloody cross; whence, though it is not very clear when they were assumed, the arms of Arragon are said to have been taken; viz. On a field argent, a cross of St. George, gules, with four Moors heads proper^d. As the price of this victory Huefca was surrendered on the 15th, and the great mosque, being cleansed and purified, was consecrated on the 17th of December, when the bishop of Jacca took possession of it^e. This city, which stands on the bank of the river Isuela, at the distance of thirty leagues north-east from Saragossa, is, next to that, the fairest and finest in Arragon, situate in a fertile plain, well cultivated, and producing the best wine that is made in this country: and the remains of its old fortifications, which are still preserved, shew, that, at the time it fell into the hands of the Christians, its walls were flanked with ninety-nine towers. After this happy success, the king caused his father's body to be carried to the royal monastery of St. Juan de la Pena, and to be interred near the body of his consort Donna Felicia, under a state-ly tomb^f.

A.D. 1096.

He takes Huefca.

The settlements requisite in the territory of such an important conquest took up some time. This once accomplished, we find the active and victorious prince in the field again, sweeping several places of less consequence from the Moors, and at length depriving them of the castle of Calesans, after a very stubborn defence, an acquisition which gave him an opportunity of extending his dominions, and securing his frontiers^g. After this conquest, the king Don Pedro^h seems to have applied himself chiefly to the arts of peace, and to the establishing and improving that extent of country, which, by the

A.D. 1098.

A.D. 1101.

^d Diploma Reg. Arragon. Annal Complut. Mar. Historia general de Hispan. lib. x.

^e Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. P. Moret Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra. Abarc. Fer.

^f Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. Zurit.

^g Annal Complut. Annal Toletan.

^h Chron. var Antiq. Hieronym. Blancæ Arragonens. Rerum Comment.

bleſſing of Providence on his own and his predeceſſor's arms, had been recovered from the infidels: but the ſatisfaction he enjoyed from thoſe princely labours was ſadly interrupted by the loſs of both his children, in the month of Auguſt, which, partly through grief, and partly through diſeaſe, brought himſelf to the grave, on the 28th of September, in the year 1104, in the eleventh year of his reign. His body was interred near thoſe of his father and mother, in the monaſtery of St. Juan de la Penaⁱ.

A.D. 1104.

His death.

*His brother
Don Alonſo
ſucceeds to
the throne.*

He was ſucceeded in the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon by his brother Don Alonſo^k, who, by the active diſplay of his martial virtues, obtained the ſurname of il Guerrero; that is, *the warrior*. He was eſteemed, at the time of his acceſſion, one of the handſomeſt and braveſt princes of his time; a character which induced Don Alonſo the Sixth of Caſtile, who had cauſed himſelf to be ſolemnly crowned emperor of the Spains, to caſt his eyes upon him, for the ſecond husband of his daughter and heiress Donna Urraca, which took place in the ſecond year of his reign^l. Conſidering himſelf as the ſucceſſor of that prince, in right of his wife, he ſtyled himſelf Alonſo the Seventh, king of Caſtile and Leon, and ſometimes alſo emperor: the concluſion of this marriage ſeemed to promiſe as great advantages, as, in its conſequences, it produced miſeries and miſchiefs to the Chriſtians in Spain. The preſent poſſeſſor of Caſtile, and all the extenſive territories lately annexed to it, was a woman, and her heir apparent a child; ſo that the inhabitants were grievouſly expoſed to the impreſſions of the infidels, more vigilant then than in former times, through the loſſes they had ſuſtained, the revolutions that had happened in their governments, and ſeveral other cauſes. The marriage of Donna Urraca to Don Alonſo not only repaired the loſs of the deceased emperor, and furniſhed the young heir of Caſtile of the ſame name with a powerful protector, but created, at the ſame time, a new and unexperienced authority, which threatened the Moors with immediate expulſion; ſince, except the counties of Barcelona and Portugal, this Don Alonſo was maſter, in his own and his wife's right, of all the ſtates that the Chriſtians poſſeſſed

A.D. 1109.

*Marries
Donna Urraca
daughter
to the emperor of
the Spains.*

ⁱ Monach. Pennat.

^k Hieron. Blancæ Arragonenſ. Rerum Comment. Indices Rerum ab Arrag. Regibus Geſtarum. Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hiſpan.

^l Lucæ Tudenſ. Chron. Chrou. Adefons Imperat. Fer.

in Spain, consequently able to bring into the field more numerous and potent armies than hitherto had been ever employed against the common enemy. Besides, it seemed a most happy and effectual provision against those factions that commonly arise in all monarchies, when the throne is occupied either by women or children. But so uncertain are all events in this sublunary state, and so short-sighted is human policy, that the hopes of the Christians and the apprehensions of the Moors were equally disappointed; for, in a few months after the marriage was concluded, those differences broke out between the king and queen, which could never afterwards be reconciled; and which, almost as soon as they broke out, threw every thing into confusion; so that through their intestine discords, if the infidels had not been wanting to themselves, they might have had a fair opportunity of restoring their power, and of recovering a great part, at least, of those countries that the Christians had lately taken from them. But as we have given a full account of those matters in another place, we shall content ourselves with observing here, that, after a great deal of confusion and bloodshed, the marriage between Don Alonso and Donna Urraca was declared null, in the council of Palencia; and the king, thereupon, turned his thoughts entirely to the care of his own hereditary dominions^m.

A.D. 1110.

A.D. 1111.

A.D. 1113.

The glory his father had acquired by his victories over the Moors, and the reputation raised by his brother by the conquest of Huesca, joined to some insults and provocations which he himself had received from the Moors of Saragossa, inflamed the king Don Alonso with the desire of adding that noble city to his dominions. He foresaw that this would be a difficult and hazardous enterprize, and, by a policy peculiar to a prince of his disposition, he contrived to obtain the means of carrying it into execution by divulging his project, which had all the effect he proposed, since it brought many of the French nobility, eager to obtain honour in a religious war, to his assistance, particularly Gaston lord of Bearn, Rotrou count of Perche, the count of Comminges, the viscount of Gavardan, and the bishop of Lescarⁿ. He had quickly a specimen of their great military skill, as well as of their bold and en-

A.D. 1114.

Reduces Tudela.

^m Lucæ Tuden. Chron. Hieron. Blancæ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. ⁿ Chron. Monach. Pennat. P. Daniel Histoire de France. Fer.

terprizing dispositions; for his troops being continually harrassed, and their convoys cut off by excursions from Tudela, which the Moors were likewise in possession of; he detached Rotrou count of Perche, with a considerable body of forces, to restrain those people. The count made a sudden and silent march into the neighbourhood of that city, and having posted his forces in such a manner, as that they could not be discerned, he ordered a small party of horse to advance within sight of the place. The Moors, supposing them to be the rear guard of a convoy, issued out with their whole force, and upon their retiring, according to their instructions, pursued them beyond the place where the count lay with his forces. He thereupon attacked them in flank, and having gained an easy victory, pursued them with such vigour, that part of his troops entered with them into the town. Having there seized an advantageous post, they supported themselves while he arrived with the rest of his infantry, and carried the place by assault, to the no small astonishment both of the Moors and the Christians. But the king, notwithstanding this unexpected success, being informed that the Moors in Saragossa had received numerous succours, thought fit to suspend his expedition, in order to make the necessary preparations for rendering it effectual, which took up the remaining part of this and all the succeeding year.

*Obtains a
victory
over the
Moors,
and takes
possession of
Saragossa.*

The measure upon which the king principally relied, was disturbing and distressing the inhabitants of that city, from the fortrefs of Castellar, which stood upon the Ebro, and gave the Christians an opportunity of interrupting all communication between that city, either by land or water. After many months wearying and harrassing them in this manner, which served only to keep his own troops in breath, and gave him leisure to repair and fortify all the places he had taken, he brought a numerous army into the field, and besieged the strongest fortrefs of Almadobar, which, as it in some measure covered Saragossa, the Moors had provided with a stout garrison, and with all things necessary for a good defence. This he took after a brave resistance, and then turned his arms against Salici, Robles, Gurra, and Zucra, all of which he obliged to surrender. Having thus cleared that side of the river, and established a free communication between his own camp and the kingdoms of Arragon and Navarre, he at length invested Saragossa. The siege was very tedious, the besieged made frequent sallies, and the besiegers were repulsed in more than one assault. This tiresome method of
pro-

proceeding, disgusted the French lords, who loved to be upon the wing; and therefore, except the lord of Bearne and the count of Perche, they quitted the camp. The king, Don Alonso, upon their departure, drew his forces nearer the place, and prosecuted the siege with greater vigour than before: however, the inhabitants found means to press the Moors of Tortosa, Merida, and Valentia, to come to their assistance, assuring them that the Christian army was much inferior to what it had been. Accordingly they assembled a very numerous army, under the command of Temin, and marched speedily to their relief. The king Don Alonso was no sooner informed of their being in motion, than foreseeing the disadvantages that must attend his being attacked in his lines, he left a small body of troops before the place, and marched with the rest of his forces to give the enemy battle, whom he entirely defeated, killed a great number upon the spot, and made a multitude prisoners, amongst whom was their general. This victory had the consequence that was expected from it; the place began immediately to capitulate, and on the 18th of December the king took possession of it with great solemnity. As this was beyond comparison the finest place in his possession, and indeed one of the best built cities in Spain, he not only restored it to its ancient honour of being an episcopal see, but made it also the capital of his dominions. Having rewarded generously those strangers who had assisted in reducing it, he caused it to be repeopled with Christians, and then demolished the fortifications, declaring that the seat of his monarchy should have no other defence than the force and courage of its inhabitants. While he was thus employed, he had intelligence that numbers of people began to retire out of Tarraconæ; and other places; upon which, resolving to make a right use of the consternation the Moors were in, he marched thither with his army: though a place of strength and consequence, he reduced it with very little trouble, and concluded this glorious campaign with the reduction of Borja, Alagon, and other places on the banks of the river Galeco. Next

A D. 1118.

* Annal Tolet. Annal Compostel. Annal Complut. Rod. Tolet, de Reb. Hispan. Monaco. Pennat. Fer. P Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Mariana, Ferreras. q Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. Hieron. Blancæ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. Abarca, Zurita.

A.D. 1119. year, while the places he had reduced were repairing, he made another expedition, in which he swept the river Xalon, made himself master of the ancient town of Calatayud, and took several places of less importance from the infidels. He found it convenient after this progress, to remain for some time quiet in his own dominions, in order to provide effectually for their security, notwithstanding the many thousands of Moors that were now become his subjects.

And defeats them in a pitched battle near Alcaraz.

These precautions being taken, he again assembled his forces : and having signified to the nobility of France, how well pleased he should be to have them again for his companions in arms, they very readily accepted his invitation, and joined his troops by that time they were in a state of action. The king Don Alonso first ravaged the territory of Lerida, afterwards invaded Valentia, and at length penetrated as far as the kingdom of Murcia, acquiring vast reputation to himself, and immense riches to those who served under him *. The Moors had been hitherto so much astonished at the boldness of this enterprize, that they made little or no resistance ; but, perceiving that his army was not very numerous, that he was at a great distance from his own dominions, in the very centre of theirs, and that it was impossible for any of his forces to escape, in case of a defeat, they began to recover their spirits, and eleven of their alcaydes having joined the strength of their respective governments, advanced to give him battle near the city of Alcaraz. Don Alonso, according to his usual custom, placed all hopes of safety in a frank declaration to his people, that if they were defeated they were undone ; the sense of which operated so powerfully, that, notwithstanding the inequality of the contest, they gained a very decisive and glorious victory ; after which he took winter quarters in the enemy's country, and kept his Christmas at Alcaraz †.

In the spring of the ensuing year, when the Moors expected that he would have begun his retreat, he made a fresh irruption into the plains of Cordova, and having ravaged all the open country, threw himself next into the territories of Jaen and Granada, where he committed the like devastation. But after all this success, it is very doubtful how this campaign might have ended, if he had

* Hieron. Blancæ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. P. Daniel. Ferreras. † Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum. Zurita. Abarca.

not received an unexpected and almost miraculous succour, which enabled him to return in triumph to Saragossa[†]. While his army continued in the field, ten thousand Christian families came down from the Alpujarros, and the mountains of Alcaraz, where they had maintained themselves from the days of Don Rodrigo; and having demanded and obtained his protection, returned with him into Arragon, where, having reduced Molina, Ariza, and some other places, he settled them to their satisfaction, and having dismissed his army, began to apply himself to the arts of peace[‡].

At the close of the last war, some difference had arisen between the king and the French lords, who had served in his army, whom he had rewarded less liberally than formerly, on account of the number of Mozarabic Christians, for whom he was obliged to provide; and in this discontented humour the French returned home. The Moors having intelligence of this defection, and having received prodigious succours from Morocco, eager to revenge their past losses, resolved to invade his dominions, and assembled a very powerful army for that purpose. The king, on the first intelligence of their design, compromised all matters in dispute with his old friends, and engaged the count of Perche, the viscount of Bearne, and other lords, to join him with their forces, which, with his own troops, enabled him to secure his frontiers in such a manner as totally disappointed the views of the infidels[§]. The next spring he made an irruption into the kingdom of Valentia, which not only added to the reputation of his arms, but furnished an immense booty to his troops. Amorga, the Moorish general, endeavoured to give some check to his progress; but the attempt was only fatal to his own troops. However, Alhamin, at the head of a numerous army, having joined Amorga, and having seized the passes in the mountains, the king Don Alonso found it impossible to reach his own territories, being in a manner besieged in the midst of a wild and uncouth country, where it was impossible to subsist, and from which it was equally impossible to remove. In this critical situation he ordered three days of solemn humiliation, to implore the favour of heaven; and on the fourth, which was the sixteenth of August, he

*The infidels
lose another
great battle.*

A.D. 1126.

[†] Roderic Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. Lucæ Tudens. Chronicon.

[‡] Zurita. Abarca. Ferreras.

[§] Hieron. Blancæ. Zurita.

Abarca.

caused his provisions to be equally distributed, and when his army were thoroughly refreshed, he attacked the Moors with great fury. The action lasted many hours, was very obstinately fought, and the victory gained by the king, at last, was esteemed one of the most considerable that the Christians ever obtained, and, in consequence of which, he marched without any molestation home ^x.

*Reduces
Bayonne.*

The close connections which the king of Arragon had entered into with the French lords, his neighbours, engaged him in a war on that side, the particular cause of which is no where explained: all we know of the matter is, that he made a descent, with a well appointed army, into Gascony, where he invested and besieged Bayonne. While he was thus employed, the Moors of Lerida, Tortosa, and Valentia, taking advantage of his absence, made incursions into his dominions, against whom the bishop of Huesca and the viscount of Bearne, marched with a small body of troops; but engaging with a superior force, were defeated and killed ^y. The king Don Alonso, notwithstanding this disaster, continued the siege of Bayonne with that vigour and obstinacy which were natural to him; and, having at last taken it, returned with his forces into his own dominions ^z. The disturbances his subjects received from the Moorish pirates, who came in small vessels up the Ebro, and the mischiefs that were done by a numerous garrison they had in the old town of Mequinenca, at the confluence of the Segro and the Ebro, determined him to besiege that place, though covered by a fortress that hitherto had been esteemed impregnable. He attacked it with great vigour; and though the Moors made a gallant defence, he at length carried it by assault, and put the whole garrison to the sword. This success encouraged him to invest Fraga, which derives that name from the corruption of Flavia Gallica, by which it was known in the time of the Romans. It stands upon an eminence on the left side of the Cinca, three leagues from Lerida, on the frontiers of Catalonia, strong by its situation in the midst of mountains, having the river beforementioned in front, the banks of which are inaccessible, and covered behind by a craggy mountain, on which there was a good fortress. It was at this time the capital of a Moorish

A D. 1133.

*And besieges
the capital
of a Moorish
government*

^x Annal. Complut. Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. Ferreras.
^y Hieron. Blancæ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. Zurita Abarca.
Ferreras. ^z Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. Luc. Tudenf.
Chron.

government, full of a hardy and martial race of people, well fortified for those days, and, though seated in the most sterile parts of Arragon, plentifully supplied with provisions. The king encamped before it all the remainder of this year, and the beginning of the next; and, as he was not accustomed to desist from his enterprizes, the French lords, his confederates, and several of his own prelates, brought him great reinforcements early in the spring. On the other hand, Aben Gama, governor of Valentia, assembled all the forces of that province, and made two attempts to raise the siege, but without effect, being as often repulsed by Don Alonso with great loss.

The people of Fraga, finding themselves extremely pressed, much diminished in their numbers, and without hopes of relief, offered to surrender the place, provided he would suffer them to march out, and retire where they thought proper, a demand which he refused, insisting upon their submitting at discretion. In the mean time, the forces of Seville, Cordova, and Granada, were advanced into Valentia, where Aben Gama had likewise received a reinforcement of ten thousand men from Texefin Ben Hali, king of Morocco, and with this numerous and potent army he advanced a third time to the succour of Fraga. It happened unfortunately, that, at this juncture, the king Don Alonso had detached a corps of his best troops, to secure a great convoy of provisions, so that the dispute was extremely unequal. However, upon the approach of the infidels, the king quitted his camp, and, having made a proper disposition, advanced to give them battle. His forces behaved with great intrepidity, and he himself, and the nobility about him, exerted all the skill and courage that could be expected from persons grown old in arms, and enured to victory. But at length, being absolutely overpowered by numbers, the army was defeated, the greatest part slain upon the spot, and amongst them the bishops of Huesca and Roda, most of the French nobility who served as auxiliaries, and many also of the lords of Navarre and Arragon^a. The king Don Alonso seeing all lost, made a great effort with seven hundred men, and having penetrated through the Moorish army, continued his route, having passed by Saragoſſa, to the monastery of

But is defeated in a great battle, and dies of grief.

^a Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispana. Lucæ Tudensis Chronicon. Hieron. Blanca Arragonens. Rerum Comment. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Abarca. Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet.

St. Juan de la Pena, where he arrived with ten of his great lords, amongst whom was Don Garcia Ramirez ; and, falling there into a deep melancholy, died eight days after of pure grief. His body was interred with those of his ancestors, but without any tomb erected to his memory ; which circumstance, with the concealing of this melancholy event for some days, gave occasion to many strange reports, which, on no better foundation than vulgar tradition, have found a place in some otherwise esteemed histories.

His character.

This monarch is justly and universally acknowledged to have been, in all respects, one of the greatest princes of this age. He was, though most conspicuous for his military exploits, one of the mildest and most courteous princes that ever sat on a throne ; and it was this affability that gained him, almost at first sight, the esteem and affection of all the Castilian nobility, who had the prosperity of their country at heart, and were not bent upon raising fortunes by scandalous intrigues, or base complacencies at the court of queen Urraca. He was very religious, according to the notions of that age in which he lived, and very liberal to the clergy. He added to his hereditary kingdom of Arragon, Saragossa, Tudela, Tarragona, Calatayud, Daroca, and a great extent of country on the south side of the Ebro ; so that he may, with propriety, be styled the founder of the modern kingdom of Arragon, since he rendered it by his victories, and left it at his death, two-thirds larger than when it descended to him^b. This monarch left his dominions in very great confusion ; but, though it is generally reported, Mariana makes no scruple of recording it as a fact out of dispute, that, by a will made at the siege of Bayonne, he disposed of all his territories to the knights templars, the knights of St. John, and the guardians of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem^c. Yet the story has such an air of fable, that it has been justly rejected by the best judges of history, as being to the full as improbable as the tale of his going privately to Jerusalem, after the battle of Fraga, and performing great exploits against the infidels in the Holy Land.

Separation between the kingdoms of Arragon and Navarre.

It is however certain, that, whatever will be made, or was made for him, (since forgery was not unknown in those times) his subjects took not the least notice of it ;

^b Chron. var. Antiq. Zurit. Abarca. Ferreras. general de España, lib. x.

^c Hist.

but as soon as they were recovered a little from that consternation into which they were thrown by the irruption of the infidels after their late victory, they began to consider how to repair this loss, by setting a new prince upon the throne. It is generally agreed, that a meeting for this purpose was held at Borja, on the frontiers of both kingdoms, for the electing a king of Arragon and Navarre; where the two nations disagreeing, the former adjourned to Huesca, and the latter to Pampeluna. But, all circumstances strictly weighed, it seems at least as probable, that Don Ramiro, brother to the two last kings, who was a monk in the monastery of St. Pons de Tomiers, in the diocese of Narbonne, was proclaimed king at Huesca; and that the people of Navarre took this opportunity of shaking off a yoke which they had borne but very impatiently, and setting up Don Garcia Ramirez, who was a direct descendant from their ancient kings. By this event these monarchies were again separated; and this with circumstances which excited great heart-burning and jealousy between the two nations.

At the time of his accession to the throne, it is very clear that Don Ramiro the Second had been forty-one years a monk^d: some writers assert, that he had been abbot of Sahagun, afterwards bishop of Burgos, then of Pampeluna, and at this time of Balbastro^e. He was no sooner seated on the throne, that it was judged expedient that he should have a wife, and application for this purpose was likewise made to Anacletus, who then assumed the title of pope at Avignon; and, in virtue of a dispensation from him, the king espoused Donna Ines, or Agnes, sister to William, duke of Aquitaine, who, it appears, from the French historians, was a widow^f. It is somewhat doubtful whether, before or after the celebration of this marriage, Don Alonso, king of Castile, entered the frontiers of Arragon, and advanced towards Saragozza. Some authors say, that Don Ramiro was so much amazed at the approach of a force which it was not at all in his power to resist, that he retired immediately into the impenetrable mountains and forests of Sobralva; but the historians of Castile, who lived nearest these times, affirm quite the contrary; and their account

Don Ramiro, brother to the late king, ascends the throne of Arragon.

Don Alonso, king of Castile, enters Arragon as a friend, and leaves a garrison in Saragozza.

^d Hieron. Blancæ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. Zurita. Abarca.
^e Chron. var. Antiqu.
^f P. Daniel Histoi. de France. Rod. Tolet. Zurita.

deserves the more credit, as it is perfectly natural and probable. They say, that Don Alonso declared, that he did not enter Arragon as an enemy, or as forming any pretensions to the crown; but that, on the contrary, respecting the memory of their late king, whom he had been formerly accustomed to style father, he came to protect them against the Moors, and to prevent their making any lasting advantage of their late good fortune; which act of friendship was very kindly taken, and his offer, so generously made, very thankfully accepted ^g. Upon which Don Alonso put a strong garrison into the city of Saragossa, and then retired. At first sight, this may seem to have been no more than a political feint to get possession of so considerable a place; but, if we consider the situation things were in, the danger to which the kingdom was exposed from the consequences of domestic troubles, and the efforts of a foreign enemy, and that, as soon as the people of Arragon were in a condition to keep and defend it, Saragossa was again put into their hands, we shall see plainly that Don Alonso of Castile acted like a wise and great prince, and upon motives much more noble than those of a conqueror.

The distaste between the two nations, rose in a short time so high, that it was very near producing a rupture between the crowns of Arragon and Navarre, though against all the rules of policy, and without any just cause on either side; but, by the interposition of the prelates, this difference was compromised, the kings were each of them to hold their respective dominions, to which terms Don Ramiro consented, because he knew himself unable to conquer Navarre: on the other hand, Don Garcia was willing to do homage to Don Ramiro, as well on account of his being the brother of his late sovereign and much his superior in age, as because he was in hopes, on his demise without children, he might succeed him in the throne ^h. They were both disappointed in their

A.D. 1135. views, for this agreement was far from producing a settled peace; and, towards the end of this year, or the beginning of the next, the queen of Arragon was delivered of a daughter, who was styled the infanta Petrojilla ⁱ. We have seen that, notwithstanding his claim

^g Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron. Abarca. Ferreras.

^h Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Hieron. Blancæ. Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan.

ⁱ Luc. Tudens. Chron. Zurita. Abarca.

of right, the accession of Don Ramiro to the crown of Arragon was, in a great measure, owing to the affection of his people; but, as there is nothing more common than for them to grow quickly sick of their own choice, so it seems Don Ramiro very speedily experienced the truth of this observation. Some very ancient chronicles report, that he took a very singular method of recovering the respect due to his authority. He directed an assembly of the states at Huesca, where he suddenly seized and put to death the most turbulent of the nobility ^k. It is added, according to the custom of this age, that having sent to the abbot of St. Pons de Tomiers for his advice, he carried his messengers into the garden of the convent, and with a scymitar cut off the tops of the highest plants, bidding them report to the king what they had seen him do, from which action Don Ramiro took the hint, as indeed it might be easily taken, of this rigorous proceeding. As this circumstance seems to have been invented, or rather copied, for the amusement of the great vulgar, so there was another contrived for the amusement of grosser understandings: the king is said to have given out before this assembly, that he would cause a bell to be made, the sound of which should be heard throughout his dominions: in order to keep his word, he caused the heads of fifteen of the most seditious to be nailed round the bottom of a wooden bell frame, and, having shewn this shocking sight to their nearest relations, told them this was the bell he meant, and that he would toll it at their expence, if they had not wit enough to change their conduct from this example. As this tradition of the bell of Huesca subsists to this hour, and as some very ancient writers report, not only the fact of the king's putting the chief of the nobility to death, but mention also their names, and assure us, that there were five of the noble family of Luna, though it is easy to conceive the circumstances fabulous, it is very hard to believe the whole a fiction ^l.

The king of Arragon causes some of his seditious nobles to be put to death,

A.D. 1136.

It is, however, a glaring mistake that some have committed, who have reported that this bold action had its effect; and that, as before no prince could be more contemned, so afterwards none was ever better obeyed. The truth, however, is directly the reverse; for either this or some other act of that unfortunate prince, or the

^k Chron. var. Antiqu. Turquet.

^l Zurita. Abarca. Ferreras, Ma-

A.D 1137.

*He resigns
the admini-
stration
to Don
Raymond,
count of
Barcelona,
and retires
to a con-
vent.*

whole strain of his administration, lost him the affections of his people to such a degree, that he took a sudden, and, in his situation, a wise resolution of resigning the government, which, in all probability, he heartily repented he had ever assumed. When he had digested his design in his own mind, he called an assembly of the states at Balbastro, where, on the 11th of August, he acquainted them with the resolution he had taken of giving his daughter and heiress Petronilla, in marriage to Don Raymond, count of Barcelona, that in case of her decease before she should be marriageable, it was his desire that the count should enjoy the kingdom. In the mean time he put the administration into his hands, with the title of count or prince, with the consent of that assembly, and then retired to Huesca, where he lived privately with the clergy belonging to the church of St. Peter, for the space of ten years, without ever shewing the least inclination to recover that diadem which he had so willingly quitted^m. Those therefore who have described this prince as a weak or wicked man, seem not to have considered his history attentively. He was a king but three years, and could not in that short space do much to the prejudice of his subjects. He found that a palace was no fit habitation for one who had spent forty years in a convent; a weak man would hardly have discovered this truth. He executed his purpose, which required no small degree of fortitude; and he knew how to set a just value on that quiet, for the sake of which he resigned a crown.

*Rupture
between
Don Ray-
mond and
the king of
Navarre.*

Don Raymond, upon whom the king devolved his whole authority, with the consent of his people, assumed the title of prince of Arragonⁿ, preserving also that of count of Barcelona, which was his own title. As the emperor, Don Alonso of Castile, had married his sister, and as, in his own right, he possessed dominions little if at all inferior to those of Arragon, it does not appear, that, either with regard to himself or his subjects, the old king could have made a better choice. But, from the moment he assumed the government, he had Don Garcia Ramirez, king of Navarre, for his determined enemy. Perhaps that prince had promised himself the good fortune at which Don Raymond was arrived. However that may be, their disputes quickly produced a rupture, in consequence of which, the

^m Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Hieron. Blancæ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. Rod. Tol. de Reb. Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron. Abarcá: Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet.

ⁿ Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. P. Moret. Zurita.

king of Arragon entered into a league with Don Alonso of Castile, and the king of Navarre with Don Alonso of Portugal^o. The emperor, to shew his affection for his brother-in-law, and to bring the war to as speedy an issue as possible, made an irruption into Navarre, and penetrated as far as Pampeluna, which he invested. This step might possibly have had its intended effect, if in the mean time Don Garcia of Navarre had not defeated the prince of Arragon on the frontiers, with considerable loss, which constrained the emperor to raise the siege, in order to march to Don Raymond's assistance^p. Before the close of the year, these two princes concluded a treaty, and Don Raymond was left to take care of himself: he had already a war with Navarre, and another with the Moors, upon his hands, when another cross accident happened, which gave him a good deal of trouble. Certain agents from the knights templars came into Arragon to claim the benefit of the late Don Alonso's testament, which the prince of Arragon, by his prudence and dexterity, converted to his own advantage. He told them that such of the knights templars as were willing to repair thither should be amply provided for; and, as a proof that he meant to make good his promise, he gave them the town of Calatayud, where they erected the church of the holy sepulchre. This agreement was ratified by the pope and the patriarch of Jerusalem^q. Some time after, he held an assembly of the states at Giron, where, with the consent of the nobles and prelates, he made a cession to those knights of six strong castles, with large revenues, upon condition that they should defend his frontier against the infidels in his wars, with whom he was very successful; but while he was thus employed, the king of Navarre took from him Tarrazona and some other places of less importance.

A. D. 1142.

A. D. 1143.

At the request of the prince Don Raymond, the emperor once more interposed with the king of Navarre; and finding that monarch more stubborn than he expected, had recourse to arms; but he being a widower, and proposing to marry the emperor's natural daughter, that offer was accepted, and a truce only concluded between the crowns of Arragon and Navarre. This was indeed a measure absolutely requisite, since Don Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, brother to the prince of Arragon, had been

^o Luc. Tudenf. Chron. ^p Hieron. Bianca Arragonens. Rerum Comment. Zurit. Rod. Tolet. d. Reb. Hispan. Chron. var. Antiq. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum.

A.D. 1147.

A.D. 1149.

Don Raymond reduces Tortosa, and obtains several other advantages over the Moors.

traiterously killed in his own dominions, it was requisite for the prince Don Raymond to go thither to preserve the succession to his nephew. The truce was prolonged to another year, on account of the prince of Arragon's assisting the emperor in the famous siege of Almeria, at which he was present, and likewise furnished a considerable naval force. On the 6th of August, this year, died Don Ramiro the Second, by which event his daughter, who was yet a child, became queen in her own right. In the course of the next year, the prince Don Raymond executed the scheme he had formed at the siege of Almeria, for depriving the Mohammedans of the strong city and convenient port of Tortosa, in order to which he had demanded the assistance of the count of Montpellier, the republic of Genoa, and other maritime powers; which great design he so happily conducted, that on the last day of the year he became master of the place, and very honourably fulfilled the promises he had made to all his allies, giving the Genoese and the count of Montpellier each a third part of the revenues of the place, and reserving no more to himself. Next year he pushed the war against the Moors with such success, that he made himself master of Fraga and of Lerida, to which last city he restored the episcopal see that had been placed at Roda, then in Balbastro, while this place remained in the hands of the Infidels; and soon after, by a pragmatic sanction, secured the sees in his dominions from being impoverished by himself or successors.

Esposes Donna Petronilla, daughter to the late king.

A.D. 1151.

As Donna Petronilla, heiress of Arragon, was now in her fifteenth year, Don Raymond, pursuant to the will of her father, married her with great solemnity at Lerida, in the presence of the principal nobility and prelates of Arragon and Catalonia: at the same time he resettled the episcopal see at Tortosa, and marked out the ancient boundaries of its diocese. On occasion of the emperor's nuptials, and those of Don Sancho, king of Navarre, the prince of Arragon went to Soria, and concluded a truce with that monarch upon his marriage with his niece. This gave him an opportunity of making an irruption into the territory of the Moors, where he took several places, and amongst the rest the castle of Mirabet, by assault, which he afterwards put into the hands of the knights

† Roderic. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Mariana. Ferreras. * Hieron. Blancæ Arragonens. Rerum Comment. Zurita. Abarca. Fer. † Roder. Tolet. de Reb. Hispana. † Luc. Tudenf. Chron. * Zurita.

Templars *. He also took the Moorish king of Valentia and Murcia under his protection. When the truce was expired, which he had made with the king of Navarre, he attacked that kingdom with some degree of success; and having concluded an alliance with the emperor, in virtue of which his young son Don Alonso, who was yet in his cradle, was to marry the infanta Donna Sancha of Castile, he prevailed upon that prince to join with him once more against Navarre; the hopes, however, which he had from thence, were speedily dissipated by the death of that monarch †. This event produced another, which the prince of Arragon did not at all expect. Don Sancho, king of Navarre, had a numerous army in the field, with which he had already recovered the valley of Rancal, which Don Raymond had taken from him; but on a sudden changing his measures, he represented to the prince of Arragon the folly of their proceedings, offered to bury in oblivion all former grudges, and to restore the city of Tarrazona, in order to obtain a solid and lasting peace, to which, as it was all he ever sought, Don Raymond readily agreed; and thus this war, which with little intermission had lasted from the separation of the two crowns, was happily concluded to their mutual satisfaction ‡.

A.D. 1153.

A.D. 1157.

Concludes a solid peace with the king of Navarre.

In a short time after the death of the emperor, his son Don Sancho, king of Castile, entered into a close alliance with the prince of Arragon, his uncle, in which, however, the homage was reserved to the crown of Castile, which it is fit we should explain †. It is certain it did not regard the ancient kingdom of Arragon, which never had any dependance upon Castile, but arose from that transaction which we have before mentioned of the emperor's taking the city of Saragossa, and the country on the south side of the Ebro, into his protection; for which, according to the custom of that age, he thought fit to exact homage. We shall hereafter have occasion to shew when and how this homage was remitted. As Don Raymond had considerable dominions in France, a consideration which made it requisite for him to be on good terms with Henry the Second of England, who, in right of his wife, was become duke of Aquitaine, he accepted an invitation

A.D. 1158.

* Rod. Tolet. Hist. Arabum.

† Chron. Adefons Imperat.

‡ Ferreras. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Hieron. Blancæ Arragonens. Rerum Commentarii. P. Moret Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarre.

† Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. Lucæ Tudenfis Chron. Abarca.

A.D. 1159. given him by that monarch, which produced an interview at the castle of Blaye; and, in consequence of that, a strict alliance between the two princes: amongst other things, it was agreed, that the king's younger son Richard, who, by the death of his elder brother Henry, became afterwards his successor, should espouse Donna Berengara, daughter to count Raymond, and should be declared duke of Aquitaine^b. A war breaking out next year between the king of England, as duke of Aquitaine, and Raymond, count of Thoulouse, the prince of Arragon went, in person, at the head of a considerable body of troops to the assistance of his allies. The year following he made another campaign in support of his nephew Raymond, count of Provence; and, upon this occasion, he had an interview with the emperor Frederic, with whom he entered into a close alliance. That monarch having formed a design of deposing pope Alexander the Third, passed into Italy for that purpose, and held a kind of congress at Turin, to which repaired all the princes of his party. Amongst the rest, Don Raymond, prince of Arragon, intending to be present, made a journey into Italy, but falling sick upon the road, he was carried to a place called Dalmace, not far from Turin, where he breathed his last, August the 15th, 1162. His body was carried back into Spain, and buried with his ancestors, in the convent of the Benedictines, at Ripol^c.

A D. 1162. As soon as the funeral honours to her husband were over, the queen Donna Petronilla assembled the states at Huesca, and there, agreeable to the declaration of the prince Don Raymond upon his death-bed, she assigned to their eldest son the kingdom of Arragon, and the county of Barcelona; to their second son Don Pedro she gave the county of Cerdagna, and all that he possessed besides in France, substituting his younger brother Don Sancho to that succession, in case he should die without heirs male^d. She reserved to herself the tutelage of her eldest son, and the government of the kingdom of Arragon: she committed the administration of Catalonia to Don Raymond Berengara, count of Provence; and recommended her two younger sons to the protection of king Henry the Second of England: at the same time she renewed the

An impostor pretends to be Don Alonso who died after the battle of Fraga.

^b Roderic. Toletan de Reb. Hispan. Lucæ Tudensis Chron.

^c Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Abarca.

^d Hieron. Blancæ Arragonens. Rerum Commentarii. Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. Marian. Mayerne, Turquet.

treaty with Don Sancho king of Navarre *. The peace of Arragon, notwithstanding all these precautions, was quickly interrupted, by the appearance of an impostor, who took upon him the name of the king Don Alonso, pretending, that, after the battle of Fraga, he had passed over to Syria, had served in the Holy Land against the infidels, and was now returned to govern his own dominions. Some resemblance of person, a steady assurance, and other circumstances, enabled him to gain credit with the vulgar; but the queen, causing him to be apprehended at Saragossa, put him publicly to death, and thereby restored the peace of the kingdom †. One sees nothing of weakness or folly in the conduct of this princess, whom it is certain that the historians of Arragon treat with great respect and esteem; notwithstanding which, Mariana will have it, that, through her want of capacity to administer the government, a resolution was taken to place her son upon the throne. It is certain that such a resolution was taken; but other writers affirm, that it was through the queen's free choice, who was desirous of seeing her son acknowledged and fixed on the throne of Arragon in her life-time ‡.

It was with this view that she caused an assembly of the states to be held at Barcelona, where, on the 14th of June, she made a free resignation in favour of the prince her son, whom she carried afterwards, for the same purpose, to Saragossa; upon which occasion public proclamation was made by the states, that such lords as held either castles or fortresses from the crown, should immediately resign their governments into the hands of the king, on pain of being deprived of their dignities, having their estates confiscated, and their persons banished; and all persons were forbid to violate the treaties subsisting with neighbouring princes, under pain of death, and the confiscation of their estates^b. It may not be amiss to observe here, that, according to most historians, this young prince was baptized by, and during his father's life-time bore the name of Raymond, which he now changed for that of Alonso, as more acceptable to the people of Arragonⁱ. It is likewise probable;

*The queen
Petronilla
resigns the
govern-
ment in fa-
vour of her
eldest son
Don Alonso.*

* Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Lucæ Tudenf. Chron. Abarca. † Hieron. Blancæ. Zurita. P. Moret. ‡ Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. Historia General de Hispana, lib. x. Abarca. ^b Hieronymi Blancæ Arragohensium Rerum Commentarii. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Ferreras. ⁱ Zurita. Abarca. Mariana.

that his sister, whom most of the historians call Donna Dulcia, was likewise called Berengara; and, besides her, it will appear that he had another sister, whose name was Donna Leonora ^k.

*Subject of
the next
section.*

We have now completed this section, and have therein traced those accessions, by which, from a very slender beginning, the realm of Arragon grew to be what it now is. The reader likewise sees how, in virtue of the marriage between the count of Barcelona and the heiress of this monarchy, the noble country of Catalonia was annexed to this crown; and, from the accession of power arising from thence, Abenlope, the Moorish prince of Valentia, came to seek the protection, and to own himself the vassal of the prince of Arragon, which afforded the monarchs of Arragon the first pretensions to that fruitful kingdom. We propose, in the next section, to give a succinct history of the principality of Catalonia; or, which will be found to amount to the same thing, to trace out the succession of the counts of Barcelona, and their gradual acquisitions of power and territory, by which it will be rendered evident what a vast advantage ensued to the crown of Arragon, from the annexing of this maritime province to its dominions.

S E C T. IX.

The History of the County of Barcelona, and the County of Catalonia, from the Time of the erecting of that County, at the Beginning of the Ninth Century, to its Conjunction with the Realm of Arragon, by the Marriage of the Count Don Raymond the Fifth with the Infanta Donna Petronilla, Heiress of that Kingdom, the Children of which Marriage enjoyed both Sovereignities.

*Description
of the old
county of
Catalonia.*

THE county of Catalonia, of which we are going to speak, is precisely that which the count Don Raymond the Fifth annexed to the kingdom of Arragon, which was not only far greater than the ancient county of Barcelona, the original patrimony of his ancestors, but also considerably more extensive than the principality of Catalonia, as it now stands; comprehending in it, besides Ca-

^k Roderic. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan. Mariana. Ferreras. May-erne, Turquet.

talonia, or, as the Spaniards always write it, Cataluna, the countries of Roussillon and Cerdana, or Cerdagna, best part of which are now in the hands of the French¹. This country, as it then stood, had Languedoc on the north, the Pyrenees, the country of Ribagorça, and the kingdom of Arragon on the west, a corner of the same kingdom, and a part of that of Valentia, to the south, with the Mediterranean on the east, stretching about seventy leagues from south to north, and, where broadest, not much less from west to east; the air is, generally speaking, pure and wholesome; the climate perfectly pleasant, and not so very hot in the middle of summer as in most other provinces in Spain. The greatest part of this country is mountainous; but there are several large and beautiful plains, more especially those of Urgel, Cerdagna, Vic Gironne, Taragona, and Panades. The mountains themselves are far from being barren, since they are every where covered with forests of excellent timber, not destitute of fruit-trees, and abound with odoriferous shrubs and medicinal herbs. There are few countries better watered, though none of its rivers are very large. It is plentifully furnished with edible roots, wine, fruit, and corn, as also flax and hemp. There are in it many inexhaustible quarries of marble of all sorts, and as to stones of higher value, jasper, amethysts, lapis lazuli, and the hematites, or *blood-stone*, are found here in considerable quantities^m. Heretofore, it is said, there were mines of gold and silver; and of the former of these precious metals, there are still some grains found in the sand of the Segro, and some other rivers; but there are still mines of tin, lead, iron, allom, vitriol, and salt; and on the coast, which is near ninety leagues in extent, there is a very valuable coral fisheryⁿ.

As to the ancient inhabitants of this province, they were the Castellani, Auxitani, Indigites, Cositani, with part of the Ibercones and Jaccitani^o. Some have conceived that it derived its name from the first of these people^p; others again think it more probable^q, that its appellation comes from the Catelauni, an ancient people in Gaul; but the most probable account of the matter is this: upon the de-

*Account of
the ancient
inhabitants.*

¹ Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. lib. i. Geogr. Moderne, par Du Bois, par. i. cap. 3.

^m Delices de l'Espagne, par Don Juan Alvarez de Colemanar.

ⁿ Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii.

^o Strab. Geogr. lib. iii. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iii. ^p Heylin's

Cosmography, lib. i. ^q Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. lib. i.

cine of the Roman empire, the Alani seized the best part of this province, of which they were, in some measure, dispossessed by the Goths; and at length mixing together and becoming one people, they came to be called Gothalani, and their country Gothallonia, which, by degrees, was softened into Catalonia^r. The Moors pushed their conquests hither in the beginning of the eighth century, but they had at best but an unquiet possession; and the potent emperor Charlemagne attacked them frequently, and with so much vigour, that the Moorish governors in most of the considerable places were content to acknowledge themselves his vassals^s. This submission, however, as it arose from constraint, seldom lasted longer than there was a force at hand to keep them within bounds. In their repeated revolts they were guilty of such excesses, that at length Lewis the Mild determined to make an absolute conquest, and to leave therein such a competent force as might effectually secure this frontier against the infidels^t.

A D. 801.

*Barcelona
besieged
and taken
by Lewis
king of
Aquitaine.*

At the opening of the ninth century, the Moors, possessed of Barcelona, were under the government of Zade, who had more than once abused the clemency of Charlemagne, and at length so irritated, by his perfidious behaviour, Lewis king of Aquitaine, son of that conqueror, that he gave orders to his generals to invest Barcelona, and not to rise from before it till they had put Zade into his hands. The Moor, comprehending his danger, made a most obstinate resistance, so that the siege lasted many months; at length, finding it impossible to preserve the city any longer, and that it was in vain to expect any relief, he determined, or rather was compelled by the inhabitants, to go to the Christian camp, and implore the emperor's mercy; where he no sooner arrived, than he was arrested, and sent prisoner to Charlemagne, who condemned him to perpetual exile^u. The people of Barcelona gaining nothing by this expedient, continued to hold out for six weeks longer, when the king of Aquitaine, having joined his army, took the command of the siege, to whom they made a proposal, that, if he would permit them to march out, and retire whither they pleased, they would surrender the place. To this proposal having given his consent, he made his public entry into Barcelona, where he formed a project of extending the bounds of his

^r Delices de l'Espagne, par Don Juan Alvarez de Colomenar.

^s Rod. Tolet. de Reb. Hispan.

^t Vit. Ludovic. Annal.

Rivipul.

^u Chron. Barchimon. Roder. Toletan de Reb. Hispana.

father's empire as far as the Ebro; but being recalled before he could put this design in execution, he appointed Bera count of Barcelona, and instructed him in the measures necessary to be taken for the perfecting his plan ^w.

This count Bera held his government about eighteen years, and in the beginning acted with great vigour and success against the Moors, which encouraged the governors of Huesca and Saragossa to throw off the yoke of Alhacan king of Cordova, and to put themselves under the protection of Charlemagne ^x. After the death of Charlemagne, the emperor Lewis committed his conquests in Spain to the care of his son Lothaire; and finding that a peace with the Moors was more prejudicial than war, broke it: soon after count Bera was recalled, upon a discovery that, in imitation of the Moorish governors, he was carrying on secret intrigues to render himself independent. Sanila, a considerable officer under him, who brought this charge against him, offered, according to the custom of those times, to make it good by combat. They fought accordingly on horseback; and Bera, being overcome, forfeited his life, according to the laws then in force; but the emperor, naturally compassionate, commuted his punishment, and banished him to Roan during his life ^y.

A. D. 810.

*Bera first
count of
Barcelona
banished for
life to
Roan.*

He was succeeded in his government by count Bernard, son to William duke of Tholouse, who carried on the war against the infidels with great vigour, which raised him so high in his master's favour, that he made him his lord high chamberlain, and, as some say, his prime minister ^z. This promotion had a bad effect; for he began, immediately after, to oppress the clergy in his government, and had a great hand in the disturbances which broke out in the emperor's family, who thereupon deprived him of his dignities ^a. In resentment of this punishment he induced the people of Burgundy to revolt in favour of Pepin, and soon after seized Tholouse, depending on the protection of Pepin, who, by his advice, declared himself king of Aquitaine ^b. On the death, however, of the emperor Lewis, he reconciled himself to his successor Charles the Bald; but, as he still continued his intrigues, that mo-

A. D. 823.

^w Vid. Ludovic. Chron. Barcimon. ^x Vit. Ludovic. Annal. Rivipul. ^y Histoire de Languedoc, lib. ix. ^z Petr. de Marca. Marca Hispanica sive limes Hispanicus, i. e. Zeographica & Historica Descriptio Catalaunicæ; a Steph. Baluzio, edita Paris, 1688, fol. ^{Vitæ} Ludovic. ^a Chron. Var. Antiq. ^{Vitæ} Ludovic. ^b Histoire de Languedoc.

narch became jealous of him, and summoned him to repair to an assembly of the states, which was held in the neighbourhood of Tholouse. The count, finding he had not strength enough to execute his design, went boldly thither, in hopes of pacifying that monarch by a feigned submission. But, when he came into his presence, and fell upon his knees to do him homage, the emperor, as he attempted to rise, caught hold of him with his left hand, and, with his right, drawing a dagger out of his bosom, stabbed him to the heart ^c. His son William attempted to make some disturbances, and entered, according to his father's example, into a close correspondence with the Moors ^d.

A. D. 844.

*Bernard
the second
count,
stabbed
with a dag-
ger by the
emperor
Charles the
Bald.*

A. D. 848.

Aledran was declared count of Barcelona by the emperor, and kept possession of it for four years; at the end of which space William, by the help of his intrigues, formed a strong party there. By the assistance of Abderaman, king of Cordova, he made himself master of the place, and of a great part of Catalonia, his competitor making his escape with some difficulty. As for count William, having procured a strong reinforcement of Moors, he undertook the conquest of all that the French possessed in those parts, and was at first so fortunate as to seize the counts Ademare and Isembard, whom he carried prisoners to Barcelona, and afterwards, with a potent army, besieged Gironne; but miscarrying in this enterprise, and, returning to Barcelona, the two counts his prisoners found means to excite a tumult, in which count William was killed, and the place thereupon returned to the obedience of the emperor ^e. Things, however, were so ill managed, and so little care was taken of so important a place, that,

A. D. 850.

*His son
William,
the third
count, slain
in a tumult.*

two years after, it was taken and plundered by the famous Moorish general Musa, governor of Saragossa, who might have kept it, if he had not, at that time, meditated a revolt, which induced him to return into his own government ^f. After this period we find one Sunifred there, with the title of viscount, which implies that he was the deputy of another lord, to whom the government was committed, and who, very probably, was the person we find next mentioned in history with the title of count of Barcelona.

This person was Hunfrid, or Wifrid, who, it is said, had also the title of marquis of Gotia, and duke of Septimania; which implies, that, besides Barcelona, he was

^c Annal. S. Bertin.
Var. Antiq.

^d Chron. Var. Antiq.
^e Annal. S. Bertin.

^f Chron.

intrusted with the administration of all that belonged to the empire in these parts; so that a considerable district in the southern provinces of France, with part of Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia, were under his jurisdiction^g: yet, it seems, he was not satisfied, because king Charles, surnamed the Bald, had bestowed Tholouse, and the places adjacent, upon count Raymond, and of which, notwithstanding, he despoiled him, upon pretence that they belonged to his government. This violence so provoked the king, that he removed Wifrid from his employment, in the succeeding year, or at least divided this large government into two, restraining him to the countries on the other side of the Alps; which, it seems, he considered as a great injustice^h. At this time one count Solomon was intrusted with Cerdagna, but under the orders of Wifrid. This count, whether prompted by duty or resentment is not very clear, accused him of Barcelona of certain crimes, which occasioned his being summoned to Narbonne; where, being insulted in a tumult, and a man having had the boldness to pull him by the beard, he, in the first transport of his choler, killed him upon the spot; and endeavouring afterwards to force a passage for his escape, was cut to pieces by those who seized him for the murderⁱ. His son, of the same name, was conducted prisoner to king Charles, who expressed great concern for his father's misfortune; and, promising him his protection, sent him into Flanders, to be brought up under the care of that monarch's own sister^k.

A. D. 863.

A. D. 872.

Count Wifrid murdered by the populace of Narbonne.

The county of Barcelona was, for the present, bestowed upon Solomon, the informer; of whose administration there is not the smallest circumstance to be found; nor does it appear whether he died, or was removed to make way for count Wifrid the Second, son of Wifrid the First; who proving a person of great virtue and piety, as well as of singular charity, was very soon restored to his father's employment, and is considered as the first count of Barcelona who had any share of sovereign authority; inasmuch, as he did homage for this city and country, and was to hold it as a fief from the kings of France, for himself and his heirs^l.

A. D. 874.

His son of his own name succeeds as count of Barcelona.

^g Chron. five Histor. Com. Barcimon a Monach. Rivipul. Script.
^h Francisco Diago Historica de los Antiquos Condes Barcelona.
 Barcelona 1603. fol. ⁱ Marca Hispanica. ^k Chron.
 Rivipul. Diago. ^l Marca Hispan. Zurit. Indices Rerum ab
 Arragoniæ regibus Gestarum.

- A. D. 885. Wifrid II. surnamed Velloso, that is, the Hairy, and also the Warlike, taking advantage of the dissensions amongst the Moors, began to extend his dominions, making himself master of Solsona and Cordona, both of which he fortified, and established his affairs on so solid a foundation, that he had little to fear from the infidels; who, though they attempted to invade his territories with a great army, were constrained to retire with a considerable loss, and soon after they sued to him for peace^m. He was the founder of the Benedictine monastery of Ripolⁿ.

He rules with reputation, and dies in peace.

- A. D. 890. He ruled in Catalonia thirty-seven years with great reputation, and had by his countess before mentioned four sons, Ranulpho, who became a monk, Wifrid, who died in the life-time of his father, Miron, who succeeded him, and Seniofredo, upon whom he bestowed the county of Urgel. His countess dying before him, he espoused a second time a lady who survived him, and whose name was Garfinda, and, by his own direction, was interred in the monastery of Ripol, which became thenceforward the burying place of the counts of Barcelona.

His son Miron proves an inactive prince.

- A. D. 911. Miron, count of Barcelona, appears to have been an inactive prince, since we find little or nothing recorded of him in history, though he enjoyed this principality seventeen years; neither do we know whom he married; but at his demise he left behind him three sons, Seniofredo, who succeeded him, Olivia, to whom he gave the county of Cerdagna, and Mira, upon whom he bestowed that of Gironne, though, in his catalogue, Mariana makes him bishop of that place: as these children were in their nonage, at the time of his decease, their uncle, the count of Urgel, took the administration during their minority^o.

- A. D. 928. Seniofred, count of Barcelona, was put in possession of his dominions by his uncle, who governed them with great prudence and fidelity, and took the same care of his brethren^p. This young count married the daughter of Don Sanchez Abarca, king of Navarre^q, by whom he had no issue, and, after a long reign, in which he did little, deceased, and was buried in the monastery of Ripol^r. Both his brothers were living at the time of his death, and yet he was succeeded by

Is succeeded by his son Seniofred.

Borelo, his cousin, son to Seniofredo, count of Urgel; but by what colour of right, or whether by force, as Ma-

^m Diago. Marca Hispanica.

ⁿ Chron. Rivipul. Zurita.

^o Marca Hispanica. Zurita.

^p Chron. Rivipul.

^q P. Moret

Investigaciones Historicas de los Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra.

^r Diago.

riana suggests', or by procuring the investiture from the crown of France, as Ferreras 'conjectures, is not very clear. This prince made a journey to Rome, in order to settle the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in his dominions; for, the city of Tarragona being in the hands of the Moors, all the bishops in his territories were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Narbonne, a circumstance which was attended with such inconveniencies, that the pope, at his request, declared the bishop of Ossonoba metropolitan of Catalonia, till such time as Tarragona should be recovered out of the hands of the infidels. But as the count had not taken the precaution to apply first to his lord paramount, the king of France, this regulation did not take effect. He was very assiduous in improving, fortifying, and adorning, the chief towns in his territories, and very fortunate in the defence of them against the Moors, till Mohammed Almanzar, who conceived some particular dislike to this prince, made an irruption into Catalonia, with a prodigious army, in which he committed most horrid depredations. Count Borelo, who could not bear to see the miseries of his subjects, advanced, with such an army as he was able to raise, to Moncada, where he gave the enemy battle, and where he had the misfortune to be so totally defeated, that, in all probability, no part of his army would have been preserved, if the adjacent mountains and forests had not secured them from the pursuit of a barbarous and implacable enemy". Mohammed Almanzar proceeded directly to Barcelona, and, finding but a small garrison, attacked and carried it by assault. A great part of the inhabitants was put to the sword; he carried away most of the rest; and, having left a body of troops in the fortress, set fire to the city, in which all the archives, records, and titles, public and private, were consumed, which is the true reason that the history of this principality is so imperfect". Count Borelo, in this distress, applied for assistance to Lewis the Fourth of France; to whom he represented, that what the infidels aimed at was, to make a road through Catalonia into his dominions: upon which suggestion a great corps of troops was immediately sent to his assistance; with whom, having joined the remains of his own army, he returned immediately to Barcelona, which he attacked and carried sword in hand; and, having destroyed all the Mohammedans he found

A. D. 972.

Count Borelo is defeated by Mohammed Almanzar;

who takes Barcelona by assault.

" Historia general de Hispania. -
" Diago. " Marian. Fer.

" Historia de Hispania.

A. D. 985. therein, applied himself, with the utmost diligence, to repair and repeople the place ^x. The rest of his reign was spent in cultivating the arts of peace, and in fortifying his frontier in such a manner, as to prevent his subjects from suffering any misfortune of the like kind in time to come. He deceased in the month of October, in the year 937, and left several children, but of these we have no distinct account.

*Put this ci-
ty is re-
gained by
count Bo-
relo, who
dies in the
year 993.*

Don Raymond his son succeeded at the age of twenty-one, and proved a prince of great virtue and valour ^y. The Moors, with a prodigious army, attempted to invade his country; but Don Raymond, assisted by his brother-in-law, Don Ermengild, count of Urgel, gave them such a reception, that they were glad to retire: upon which the two counts fell upon their frontiers, and returned with a great booty ^z. Things were now so well settled in Catalonia, that the count held an assembly of the states, which is mentioned here, because it seems to be the first which had been held at Barcelona, since it was recovered by the Christians ^a; and the fame of Don Raymond was so great, that both by the Christians and Moors he was equally respected. Mohammed Almahadi, being dispossessed of the kingdom of Cordova by Zulima, applied, by the advice of his prime minister Alhamer, to the count of Barcelona, for his assistance, promising to give him some places that lay very conveniently, in case he would enable him to remount the throne. The count Don Raymond, having consulted his nobility and prelates, accepted this proposition. Having assembled the whole force of his dominions, he joined the Moorish army, and directed their march towards Cordova ^b. On the road they were surprised by Zulima, who attacked them so vigorously, while they were in disorder, that he killed great numbers, and amongst them Ermengild count of Urgel, Aetius bishop of Barcelona, Arnulph bishop of Vich, and Otho bishop of Gironne ^c. Don Raymond himself was in the rear,

A. D. 1009.

*His son Don
Raymond
obtains a
signal vic-
tory over
the Moors.*

with a good number of his own forces, behind whom he rallied, and formed the flying remains of the broken army. When Zulima thought there was nothing left but a pursuit, he charged him so roughly, that, after a short dispute, he deprived him of that victory which he thought secure, and pushed his success so briskly, that he conducted Mo-

^x Marca Hispanica. Zurit. ^y Chron. Rivipul. ^z Diago.
^a Marca Hispanica. Marian. Ferreras. ^b Diago. ^c Chron.
Rivipul. Zurit.

hammed Almahadi in triumph to Cordova, and seated him again upon the throne^d. After this event, he governed his dominions in splendor and peace, till at length he departed this life, in the year 1017, leaving his dominions to his son Don Berenger, an infant, under the tutelage of the countess Ermisenda his mother.

A.D. 1017.

Dies and leaves his territories to his son Berenger, an infant,

Don Berenger, count of Barcelona, being arrived at full age, and, having assumed the government^e, married Donna Sancha, daughter, as some say, of the count of Castile; but, as Moret and Salazer assure us, the daughter of Don Sancho count of Gascony. He seems to have been a prince of a very pacific spirit, for which reason none of the Spanish historians have given themselves the trouble of recording his actions: all we know of them is, that he deceased in the year 1035, and that he was interred in the monastery of Ripol^f. He left behind him three sons, Raymond his successor, Guillormo count of Manresa, and Sancho, who, in process of time, enjoyed the same county.

who dies in the year 1035-

Don Raymond the Second was a prince of great parts and piety^g, and not at all inclined to pass his days in obscurity like his father. He espoused at first Donna Beatrix, and afterwards Donna Almai, the daughter of the count of Limoges; held various assemblies of his states at Barcelona, in which he regulated the civil and ecclesiastical dominions. In one of these he amicably compromised some differences that had arisen between him and his grandmother the countess Ermisenda, and gave her, in lieu of the places she held, one thousand ounces of gold^h. He took from the Moorish king of Saragossa Manresa, and several other placesⁱ. The cathedral church of Barcelona being old and decayed, the count Don Raymond rebuilt it entirely, and caused it to be consecrated with great solemnity on the 8th of November, at which time the Moor Ali, king of Denia, Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica, confirmed to the bishop of Barcelona his spiritual jurisdiction over the Christians in his dominions^k. Ten years after this event, he held a famous council at Gironne, in which were present the pope's legate, the archbishop of Narbonne, in quality of metropolitan, and all the bishops in his dominions, and in which various canons were made.

Succeeded by his son Don Raymond II.

A.D. 1056.

^d Marca Hispanica. ^e Marca Hispanica. ^f In vestigaciones Historicas de los Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra.
^g Chron Rivipul. ^h Zurit. ⁱ Marca Hispanica.
^k Chron. Var. Antiq.

*a wife and
peace
prince,
who quit-
ted this life
in the year
1075.*

It was this prince who introduced into his dominions the titles of viscount, baron, and vavafor; and, by several other wise regulations, rendered himself rich and potent, and his people secure and happy: he was by much the most eminent of the princes of this family; and, dying full of years and glory, May the 25th, 1075, was buried in the new church of Barcelona, which was of his own foundation ¹.

*The go-
vernment
devolves to
his two
sons Beren-
ger and
Raymond.*

His sons Don Berenger and Don Raymond succeeded, by the express will of their father, jointly ^m in the county of Barcelona; in which settlement his affection, as a father, certainly prevailed over that great prudence which he had shewn in the government of his dominions. In a short time after his demise, the brothers, as might have been easily foreseen, fell out; upon which pope Gregory the Seventh sent a legate into Catalonia, to try what might be done towards reconciling them, in which, however, he was not very successful ⁿ; but these disputes did not rise to such a height as to create any considerable disorders in the government; for Don Raymond, by the consent of the people, resided at Barcelona, and gratified his brother Don Berenger with the subsidies that he received from the king of Saragossa, and otherwise, so as to afford him a considerable revenue ^o. This Don Raymond espoused Almodia, or Matilda, a lady of the Norman race, by whom he had a son Raymond Arnaldo. He had not governed his principality above five years before he was unfortunately murdered, at a place called Pertica de Ostor, by certain banditti. Some historians assure us, that these assassins were employed by his brother Don Berenger, who, as he was the eldest of the two brothers, was exceedingly offended that his father and the people in general preferred his younger brother Raymond, and, while they entrusted him with the government, thought a pension a sufficient equivalent for his pretensions. Mariana affirms, that Don Berenger, being universally hated and despised, was thrust out of all that had been assigned him; and not being able to endure the continual reproaches he met with at home, chose to retire out of Catalonia, and, in the end, out of Spain, under colour of taking upon him the crusade, and fighting against the infidels in the Holy Land. Arriving at Jerusalem he was struck dumb, and in that woeful state passed the remainder of his days in solitude, indigence, and

*Which last
is murder-
ed by ban-
ditti.*

¹ Marca Hispanica. Chron. Riviul.

^m Diago.

ⁿ Zurita.

^o Marca Hispanica.

contempt. Yet one of the most learned, diligent, and accurate writers of the affairs of Catalonia, has taken great pains to shew that all this is the pure invention of later writers; and that, though the brothers had not lived in the strictest harmony, yet Don Berenger was so far from having any hand in his brother's murder, or from reaping any benefit by it, that he became the tutor and protector of his nephew, who was then in his cradle, and who, under his care, became as able, and, in process of time, as fortunate as any of the counts of Barcelona ^p.

A.D. 1082.

Don Raymond Arnaldo, or Don Raymond the Fourth, became the heir of Don Bernard count of Besalu, in virtue of an agreement made between them ^q. He espoused Donna Aldonca, or Dulce, the daughter of Gilbert count of Provence, and the heiress of that noble country ^r. Two years after this marriage he entered into a league with Aymer viscount of Narbonne, William count of Montpellier, and other neighbouring princes, against the Moors in Majorca, who were continually pillaging their coasts, and more especially those of Catalonia. When they came to execute their scheme, they found that nothing could be done without a naval force, and they could not altogether muster up so much as a small squadron. By the interposition of pope Paschal the Second, they prevailed upon the Pisans to furnish them with a fleet. On board of this they put as many troops as the vessels of which it was composed could transport, and landing in Majorca, took and destroyed that nest of pirates. Don Bernard count of Cerdagna, dying without issue, left his dominions to the count Don Raymond; and Mariana says, that, after some disputes, and even a war, with the count of Thoulouse, all differences were terminated, by the two counts reciprocally adopting each other, which, in its issue, brought that county into this family. At length, having lived long, acquired great reputation, and many fair seignories, he deceased, having first taken the habit of a knight templar: his remains, according to his own order, were interred in the monastery of Ripon ^s. He had two sons, Don Raymond who succeeded him, and Don Raymond who inherited the county of Provence; and two daughters, Donna Berengara, who married the emperor Don Alonso of Castile ^t, and Donna Cecilia who married the count de Foix ^u.

A.D. 1112.

*His son
Don Raymond IV.
succeeds as
count of
Barcelona.*

A.D. 1117.

A.D. 1131.

*At his
death the
title is in-
herited by
his son Don
Raymond
IV.*

^p Diago. ^q Marca Hispanica. Zurit. ^r Chron. Var. Antiq. ^s Chron. Rivipul. ^t Historia General de Hispan. Chron. Rivipul. ^u Chron. Adefons Imperat.

Who marrying the daughter of Don Ramiro the Monk, united Catalonia to the kingdom of Arragon.

Don Raymond the Fifth, count of Barcelona, entered on the government of this principality with great reputation ^w. His alliance to the emperor Don Alonfo made him extremely considerable; and it was upon his doing homage to that prince that Don Alonfo count of Thoulouse was prevailed upon to take the same step ^x. He incorporated the county of Cerdagna, to which there were some pretenders, into his own dominions, and was very useful to many of his neighbours, particularly in negotiating that alliance between the crowns of Castile and Arragon, which saved the latter from the Moors after the unfortunate battle of Fraga, of which Don Ramiro the Monk was so sensible, that he immediately cast his eyes upon him for his son-in-law and successor ^y. Don Raymond no sooner found himself presumptive heir to the crown of Arragon, than he judged it a convenient season to throw off all marks of dependency in Catalonia. He forbade his subjects to date any longer, as hitherto they had done, by the years of the reigns of the French monarchs ^z; which prohibition was in plain terms avowing he would be their vassal no longer; though in reason and in law this could have no force without the consent of the lord, that is, of the crown of France, to whom these countries belonged in right of conquest. This consent, however, was afterwards procured by his marriage with Donna Petronilla, heiress of Arragon, when that kingdom and the county of Barcelona came to be united in the person of the same sovereign, but without any incorporation of territories; the Catalans and the Arragonians being equally inflexible in that particular, and looking upon their respective privileges as invaluable in themselves, and not to be communicated on any consideration ^a; so that it may be truly said, the princes of this family reigned over two of the proudest nations upon the earth; and the reader, therefore, need not wonder, that they did not always reign in quiet.

^w Marca Hispanica.
perat.

^x Diago.

^y Chron. Adefons Imper.

^z Hieronymi Blancæ Arragonensium Rerum Commentarii.

^a Zurit. Marca Hispanica, Diago, Fer.

S E C T. X.

The History of Arragon continued, from the Reign of Don Alonso II. to its Conjunction with the Kingdom of Majorca, including also the Conquest of the Kingdom of Valencia.

THE young king of Arragon, Don Alonso the Second, was, at the time his mother put him in possession of his dominions, entering into the twelfth year of his age. He was a young prince of pregnant parts, one of whom great hopes were conceived by his subjects in his earlier years, who lived not barely to accomplish their hopes, but to exceed them. He had very strong abilities, much industry and activity, a sincere zeal for religion, with less bigotry than any prince of his time, active and enterprising in war, prudent in peace, modest and grave in his deportment, and so free from all suspicion of lewdness, that he obtained the surname of the Chaste. The first action of his life distinguished plainly his spirit and capacity; for Raymond, count of Provence, to whose care he was chiefly committed by the queen, his mother, repairing into that country, projected a marriage for his only daughter, Donna Dulce, with the son of the count of Thoulouse, and falling out soon after with the count de Forcalquier, marched with a considerable body of troops in order to make himself master of Nice, at the siege of which he received a wound in his head, of which he died^b. Raymond, count of Tholouse, thought to avail himself of that alliance, which is before mentioned, and meant to have taken possession of that country; but Don Alonso of Arragon, who had scarce entered into his fifteenth year, prevented him; for being at Gironne when the news came of Don Raymond Berenger's death, he immediately took the title of marquis of Prevence, and sent a body of troops to secure the possession of that country^c. But, before he would go thither in person, he called an assembly of the states at Saragossa, where, in the most solemn manner, he confirmed the liberties of the clergy and nobility. Having obtained all the assistance he could desire, he went

Don Alonso II. his character, and gallant behaviour in Provence.

A.D. 1166.

^b Histoire de Languedoc, liv. ix. Indices Rerum ab Arragoniz Regibus Gestarum. ^c Hieronymi Blancz Arragonensium Rerum Commentarii, Zurita.

and put himself at the head of his troops in Provence, gave battle to the count of Tholouse, and obtained the victory. To strengthen his party he had repudiated his wife Constance, who was the daughter of Lewis the Younger, king of France, and married the widow of count Raymond Berenger; yet the king carried his point, brought over the clergy, nobility, and people to his interests, and, some time after, placed his brother, Don Pedro, there, to whom he gave the title of count, and who, to render himself popular, assumed the name of Raymond Berenger, though he held it only in the name, and during the pleasure of the king his brother ^d.

A.D. 1168.

*Enters into
a war
with the
Moors, and
drives
them out of
all the
places they
yet held in
what is
now styled
the king-
dom of Ar-
ragon.*

After his return to Arragon, perceiving that the rest of the Christian princes in Spain were enlarging their dominions at the expence of the infidels, he thought it a convenient season for him to do the same. Having assembled a numerous army, he employed it in reducing the towns held by the Moors on the south-east side of the Ebro, which were equally troublesome to the kingdom of Arragon, and the principality of Catalonia. He took Tavera, Moella, Pena, Rubia, and Monroy. From thence advancing to Caspe, which was a place of strength, the inhabitants were so intimidated that they opened their gates, on the first appearance of his troops; and Alcanez, which was a place of still greater strength, surrendered in like manner; so that, without meeting much resistance, the king pushed his conquests, this campaign, as far as Cantà Vieja^e. To prevent their being lost, as easily as they were obtained, he gave Caspe to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and, some years after, bestowed Alcanez on the knights of Calatrava, by whom they were well fortified, so as to cover all the conquered country ^f. The

A.D. 1170.

king, Don Alonso of Castile, conceiving a high opinion of this young monarch, engaged with him in a close alliance offensive and defensive; and they put into each other's hands a certain number of fortresses by way of security, for the due performance of the treaty ^g. About the same time the Mohammedans, in the mountains of Prades, took up arms, in hopes of throwing off the yoke of Arragon, but the king, causing them to be attacked on all sides, forced them to return to their obedience, not without effusion of blood.

^d Histoire de Languedoc, liv. ix.

Historia General de Hispana, lib. xi.

Arragonensium Rerum Commentarii. Ferreras.
et Chart. Plur.

^e Zurita, Mariana Hi-

^f Hieronymi Blancæ Ar-

^g Zurita Privileg.

The city of Tervel, standing on the confluence of the rivers Alhambra and Guadalaviar, which some have represented as a terrestrial paradise, had been long the object of his wishes, and he took this opportunity to invest it when the Moors had so many irons in the fire, that he obtained it without any great loss; and, besides annexing so fine a city, in so valuable a territory, to the crown of Arragon, it gave him an open passage into the kingdom of Valentia^h. Don Alonso quickly improved this advantage by surprizing the town of Xativa, a place of great importance, which would, in all probability, have been only the beginning of his conquests, if he had not been interrupted by the news of an unexpected invasion of his dominions by Don Sanchez the Sixth of Navarre. This obliged him to turn his arms on that side; previous to which motion he had an interview with the king of Castile, who had also broke with the king of Navarre. A new convention was made, for the due performance of which the Castilian put into his hands the castle of Bordejo, and Ariza was consigned to him by the king of Arragon. In pursuance of their agreement they both invaded Navarre, but Don Sanchez was so well provided, that they gained very little except blows. On the 18th of October died the queen Donna Petronilla, who, from the time of her resigning the crown, had employed her revenues in charity, and her time in acts of piety and devotionⁱ. The people of Arragon have still a high regard for her memory.

The king of Navarre, to revenge the insult of the preceding year, when Don Alonso had wasted his country with fire and sword, made an irruption into Arragon, and reduced Cajuelos, while Don Alonso, on his side, entered Navarre, and took Milagro, which he demolished. Towards the close of the year a dispute arose between the kings of Castile and Arragon. An officer belonging to the former having surprized the castle of Ariza, which had been put into the hands of the king of Arragon as a cautionary place; this last resented the action so highly, that he sent ambassadors to Constantinople to demand in marriage the princess Eudocia, daughter of the Greek emperor Manuel, notwithstanding he had been contracted in his father's lifetime to Donna Sancha, daughter to the emperor Alonso, aunt to the king of Castile, and sister to the

A.D. 1171.

His irruption into Valentia, where he reduces the cities of Tervel and Xativa.

A.D. 1172.

A.D. 1173.

1174.

1175.

1176.

Sends ambassadors to demand the princess Eudocia, daughter to the Greek emperor Manuel, and afterwards marries Donna Sancha of Castile.

^h Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Mariana Historia General de Hispana, lib. xi. ⁱ Zurita Privileg. et Chart. Plur. Mariana, Ferreras.

king of Leon^k. This was certainly a very rash, and indeed the most imprudent and blameable action of his whole life; of which being soon made sensible by the pope's legate, cardinal Hyacinth, he departed from the project he had formed, and made his peace with those powerful monarchs by marrying Donna Sancha^l. Soon after he gave his sister, Donna Dulce, in marriage to the infant Don Sancho of Portugal. The war with Navarre having been attended with the most pernicious consequences to the Christian interests in Spain, all the three kings were, at length, prevailed on to submit their differences to the judgment of the king of England. This prudent resolution gave Don Alonso an opportunity of making a tour into Provence, where his dispute with the count of Thoulouse remained still undetermined, but was, at length, amicably composed by a treaty, in which the pretensions of both parties were finally adjusted; and yet the calm lasted not long.

A.D. 1177.

*Assists in the
glorious
battle of
Cuenca, as
an ally to
the king of
Castile,
who there-
upon re-
mits his
homage.*

At his return into his own dominions, he found the king of Castile engaged in a very unequal war with the Moors, who had brought a prodigious army together, in order to oblige him to raise the siege of Cuenca. At the request of that monarch, he marched, with a great body of troops, to his assistance, and had a large share in that glorious victory obtained over the infidels, near that city: upon which, the king of Castile, as a mark of his gratitude and respect, released him from that homage which had been exacted from the crown of Arragon by his grandfather, for the territories he held on the south-side of the Ebro^m. The king of Arragon made afterwards an incursion into Valentia, and obliged the Moors there settled to become his vassals. Upon some fresh provocation, he entered that country again with his forces, and had penetrated as far as Morviedro, which place while he besieged, he had news of some troubles that had arisen in the county of Roussillon, which had devolved to him in virtue of a family contract with Guinard, the last hereditary prince of that country. This intelligence obliged him to raise the siege, and to march thither with an army, where he settled things to his satisfaction, and fortified the important town of Perpignan. He returned into Arragon, and held an assembly

^k Chron. Jacobi Regis.
Regibus Gestarum, Ferreras.
Annal. Tolet. Roderic Toletan.

^l Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ
^m Zurita Hist. de Languedoc.
Lucæ Tudens.

Chron. Annal. Complut.

of the states at Huesca, where he received the ambassadors of Ferdinand, king of Leon, who came to demand his assistance against his nephew, the king of Castile. Don Alonso gave them good words, but talked in so high a style to his brother-in-law, that he obliged him to conclude a peace with the king of Leon, and, at the same time, they agreed between themselves, that the conquest of Valentia should be left to Arragon, and that of Murcia to Castileⁿ.

A.D. 1173.

Some new disputes having arisen with the count of Tholouse, the king of Arragon went again into France, where the viscount of Niemes, and the viscount of Carcasson, voluntarily did homage to him, and entered into a close alliance against the count of Tholouse^o. About this time, the archbishop of Tarragona, metropolitan of Catalonia, abolished, in all the dioceses under his jurisdiction, the practice of computing by the æra of Spain, and introduced that of our Lord. This regulation was made in the year 1218 of the old æra^p. The war with the count of Tholouse still continued; and what gave inexpressible grief to the king of Arragon, his brother count Raymond Berenger was most barbarously assassinated upon Easter-day, and his remains were buried in the cathedral of Maguelonne. To punish this cruel murder, the king marched thither with a formidable army. Understanding that the murderers were retired into the fortress of Morvele, he caused it to be suddenly invested, and, refusing to hear of any capitulation, it was taken by assault, and all who were in it put to the sword without mercy^q. After this act of exemplary justice, he made an irruption into the territory of Tholouse; and, the campaign being over, he made a tour to Bourdeaux, where he had an interview with Henry II. king of England, with whom he concluded an alliance. The war with the count of Tholouse continued two years longer: at the end of which, both parties being weary, they had another interview, in which they renewed the treaty that had been concluded eight years before^r. At his return into his own dominions, he held an assembly of the states at Huesca, where he regulated several disorders that had happened during his absence, and applied him-

A. D.

1180.

1179.

Great exploits performed by him in Spain, and in France, against his enemies, and for the preservation of his dominions.

A.D. 1184.

ⁿ Indices Rerum ab Aragoniæ Regibus Gestarum Petr. de Marca, Marca Hispanica, sive Limes Hispanicus, i. e. Geographica & Historica Descriptio Catalauniæ; a Steph. Baluzio edita. Paris. 1688. folio. ^o Histoire de Languedoc. Marca Hispan. ^p Chron. Rivipul. Marca Hispanica. ^q Hist. de Languedoc. ^r Marca Hispanica.

self with great diligence to the improvement of his territories; in order to which, he granted large privileges to the places lately conquered^a. Two years after, he had an interview with the king of Navarre, in the month of September, at Boreja, where they made a solid peace, and gave reciprocal securities for the strict performance of it; by putting into the hands of a neutral power certain fortresses of importance.

*The residue
of his gene-
rous and
gallant
actions to
the end of
his reign.*

The power of the king of Castile was so great at this juncture, that, as some writers say, the king of Arragon found it necessary to negotiate a defensive alliance with the crowns of Navarre and Leon; which is so much the more probable, because, upon the king of Castile's making an inroad upon the country last mentioned, Don Alonso immediately declared war against him, and made an irruption into Castile. Of this invasion that monarch had no sooner intelligence than he entered Arragon, on the side of Agreda; but, in his retreat, Don Alonso met and fought him with some advantage: however, by the interposition of the pope's legate they were thoroughly reconciled. The count de Tholouse having committed hostilities in Gascony, during the absence of Richard, king of England, in the Holy Land, Don Alonso not only sent the succours stipulated by treaty, but went in person into Provence, to prevent that monarch's affairs from suffering by his absence. While he was thus employed, queen Berengera, consort to king Richard, arrived at Marseilles; and, after having been splendidly entertained for some time by Don Alonso, was safely conducted into Aquitaine^b.

A.D. 1193. While he remained in these parts, the king founded a noble monastery, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, not far from the city of Arles. Having settled every thing to the best advantage, he committed the care of his dominions in France to his brother Don Sancho, and then returned into Arragon^c. The king of Castile having embroiled himself again with the monarchs of Navarre and Leon, the king of Arragon resumed his old character of mediator, and prevailed upon all these princes to consent to an interview with him, between Agreda and Tarracona, where they agreed to a suspension of arms. This was the last great act of his life; for his affairs obliging him to make a journey into Roussillon, he was seized with a fever at

^a Zurita.

^b Hoveden Annal.

^c D'Acheri, tom. iii. fo. 168. P. Moret. Investigaciones Historicas de las Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra.

Perpignan, where he ended his life, April 26, 1196, when he had lived forty-four, and reigned thirty-four years complete^w. He was, without question, one of the wisest, bravest, and most fortunate princes that ever sat upon the throne of Arragon. His body was interred, by his express command, in the monastery of Toblet, which was of his own foundation. He left by his queen Donna Sancha three sons, Don Pedro, to whom he bequeathed the kingdom of Arragon, the principality of Catalonia, and the county of Roussillon; Don Alonso, to whom he gave the county of Provence; and Don Ferdinand, who was abbot of Montarragon. He had also three daughters, Donna Constantia, who espoused the king of Hungary; Donna Leonora, and Donna Sancha^z.

The young king Don Pedro had a high spirit, strong passions, was less firm in his resolutions, less correct in his manners, and, consequently, less happy and fortunate than his father. He began his reign with holding an assembly of the states; in which he did some popular things, in order to conciliate the affections of his people. The year following, he made some severe laws against heretics, that he might ingratiate himself with the clergy, and very cheerfully assisted the king of Castile against the infidels. The counts of Urgel and of Foix, having been long at variance, broke out into an open war; which proving extremely detrimental to his subjects in Catalonia, the king went into that principality, called an assembly of the states, dictated therein the terms of peace, and took the proper measures for enforcing them^y. Next year, some disputes arose between this monarch and the queen-dowager his mother, to whom several places on the frontiers were assigned by his father's will, by which Don Pedro thought his dominions too much exposed; but, by the interposition of the king of Castile, this difference was compromised, the queen consenting to restore these fortresses, and the king giving her an equivalent for them in the heart of his dominions^z. The king of Navarre going at this time to the court of Morocco, that visit so much alarmed his neighbours, that both the king of Castile and the king of Arragon invaded his dominions, and made themselves masters of such places as were most for their respective purposes.

Don Pedro the Second succeeds his father; his character; his methods pursued by him in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, at the entrance on his administration.
A. D.
1197,
1198,
1199.

^w Chron. Rivipul. Chron. Primat. Annal. Toletan. Zurita, Hieronymi Blancae. ^x Mariana. Ferreras. Zurita. ^y Marca Hispanica. Roderic Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. Lucæ Tudens. Chron. ^z Zurita. Chron. Var. Antiq.

A.D. 1200. The king Don Pedro observing, that some inconveniences had arisen, and others increased of late, in his dominions, called an assembly of the states; in which the necessary measures were taken for repressing them, and all who were present sworn to the strict observance of them. At the same time he contracted his sister, Donna Leonora, to the count of Tholouse; which marriage was consummated about three years after: at which time, as some writers say, his other sister married the heir of that count.

A.D. 1203. The kings of Arragon and Castile having amicably regulated the limits of their respective dominions, this last being frustrated in his view of marrying the infanta of Navarre, took a sudden resolution of espousing Donna Maria, the only daughter of William, count of Montpellier, by the Greek princess Eudocia, whom his father should have married. This lady had been married to the count de Comminges; from whom, under pretence of his having another wife, she was now divorced, after having had two daughters by him^a. After this marriage, Don Pedro formed and executed a very extraordinary project, which was that of going to Rome, to make a visit to the pope, embarking with his uncle Don Sancho, and a numerous train of prelates and lords on board his own galleys. He was received by the pontiff with all possible marks of kindness and respect, anointed by the bishop of Porto, crowned by the pope's own hands; for which, however, he acknowledged himself a vassal to the holy see, and consented to pay an annual tribute of two hundred and fifty double pistoles. At his return to Provence, he found that his brother Don Alonso, count of that country, had been surprised, and was kept prisoner in a castle by the count de Forcolquier, his wife's grandfather, who had some demands upon him^b. The king, incensed at this outrage, raised a considerable army, besieged and took the castle in which his brother was confined; and, having set him at liberty, ravaged the territories of his antagonist, till, by the interposition of neighbouring princes, things were once more amicably composed^c. The king, about this time, had some differences with the people of Montpellier, whom he looked upon as his subjects, in right of his wife.

A.D. 1204.

A.D. 1205.

^a D'Acheri, tom. viii. fo. 216. Hieronymi Blancæ Aragonensium. Rerum Commentarii. Hist. de Languedoc. ^b Chron. Rivipul. Rainald. ^c Chron. Primat. Zurita Hist. de Languedoc.

In Arragon, also, there were great discontents on the score of the king's submitting himself to the pope; against which the states protested, being unwilling to owe allegiance to more than one sovereign.

About this period, the king, who had no issue, began to be displeased with the queen, and aimed at procuring a divorce from Rome; which, he flattered himself, would be no difficult thing to obtain from a pope, who had honoured him with the title of Catholic; in which, however, he found himself much mistaken. Being also embarrassed in his domestic affairs, he called an assembly of the states, wherein he made some edicts in favour of the clergy. He afterwards invaded the territories of the Moors, and made himself master of the town of Montalban^d. He consented, at the request of the king of Castile, who had lately concluded a peace with the king of Navarre, to an interview with the last mentioned monarch; at which, through the interposition of the former, he compromised all disputes with the latter^e. All this time his suit for a divorce went on, but, as some say, he was prevailed on by one of his favourites to make the queen a visit, and to remain some time with her; and, soon after his departure, she declared herself with child. Mariana says, the queen, taking the advantage of the king's disposition to gallantry, prevailed upon a servant of his to conduct her privately to his bed, which he did; but in the morning, she took care to make herself known, that, in case of her being with child, there might be no doubt of its legitimacy. However this business was conducted, certain it is, that the queen was delivered of a son, on the 1st of February^f, whom she christened Don Jayme, from another strange incident: she caused twelve wax tapers to be lighted at a time, and having given the name of an apostle to each of them, bestowed that of St. James on her new-born son, because his taper burnt the longest.

It does not at all appear, that the king Don Pedro had the least scruple or suspicion of imposture in this affair. He acknowledged the infant for his son; and directed all necessary care to be taken of his education. Don Armingol, count of Urgel, dying without male issue, his sister's son, Don Gerard de Cabrera, took possession of his dominions, without demanding the consent of the king of Ar-

A.D. 1206.

1207.

Begins to dislike the queen; institutes a suit at Rome for a divorce; and, during the progress of that suit, has a son by her.

A.D. 1208.

Owens him, and gives direction for his being educated in a manner suitable to his dignity.

^d Rainald. Zurita. Hieronymi Blancæ. Marca Hispanica. Mariana Historia General de Hispana, lib. xii. ^e Marca Hispanica. ^f Histoire de Languedoc, tom. iii. n. xiv.

ragon; from whom they were held, as dependent on his principality of Catalonia. Don Pedro was not a prince to be treated in this manner with impunity; he, therefore, presently vindicated his right by attacking the new count; and having, after a long siege, reduced the castle, in which he took shelter with his family, he sent them all prisoners to that of Loharra ^g. His sister Donna Constantia, queen-dowager of Hungary, who returned home into his dominions on the death of her husband, having contracted a second marriage with Frederic, king of Sicily, was conducted by the king of Arragon to Barcelona; where she embarked for that island, accompanied by her brother Don Alonso, count of Provence; who died very soon after their arrival at Palermo ^h. In the month of November, in the same year, deceased the queen-dowager Donna Sancha, the king's mother, who had passed the latter part of her life in a convent, and in exercises of charity and devotion ⁱ.

A.D. 1209.

The king makes a tour, on an extraordinary occasion, into his French dominions.

The king of Castile, meditating the subversion of the Moorish monarchies in Spain, proposed a fresh interview between the kings of Arragon and Navarre, at a place called Malens, where all the three kings were present; and where, as a proof of their thorough reconciliation, the king of Navarre lent Don Pedro of Arragon twenty thousand pistoles, for which he had a pressing occasion; and received from him certain fortresses to secure the repayment of it. It is probable, that the original intention of this loan was to enable the king of Arragon to take the field against the Moors; from which step he was prevented by being obliged to take a share in those strange transactions that were carrying on in the southern provinces of France; where the pope's general, Simon, count de Montfort, under colour of a croisade, published for that purpose, was endeavouring to extirpate the Albigeois, better known to us by their Latin name of Albigeneses. These were in reality Protestants, holding, by a continued and uninterrupted tradition, the doctrines of the ancient Gothic church; for this reason exposed to the rage of the pope, who proclaimed a croisade for their present destruction; and established the bloody tribunal of the inquisition to prevent their sentiments from being received. These pilgrims, or crosses, as the pope's soldiers were styled, had absolutely destroyed the town of Beziers, with cir-

^g Chron. Var. Antiq. General de Hispana, lib. xii.

^h Zurita. Mariana Historia General. ⁱ Annal. Toletan.

circumstances of inexpressible cruelty. The earl of Beziers, who was also viscount of Carcasson, retired to the last mentioned city, where the pope's general besieged him; upon which he applied for protection to the king of Arragon, his near relation, and to whom he was vassal. The king upon this request made a tour into these parts, intending only to act as mediator.

In a conference with the count de Beziers, this nobleman exclaimed loudly, that, under the specious pretence of zeal for religion, the pope really meant to strip himself and his uncle, the count of Tholouse, of all their dominions, to extirpate their subjects, and to give them to the count de Montfort, and the crosses, or pilgrims, who were to execute his vengeance. He said he knew this to be the pope's design; because when he was treating for his subjects of Beziers, the pontiff refused to receive his Catholic subjects into his favour; nay, would not so much as spare the priests, who were all cut in pieces in their sacerdotal ornaments, under the banner and the cross; that this example of cruel impiety, joined with what they exercised upon the village of Carcasson, where they had exposed all to fire and sword, without any distinction of age and sex, had fully convinced him, that there was no mercy to be looked for from the legate, or his pilgrims; and that accordingly he would choose rather to die in defending his subjects, than be exposed to the mercy of an inexorable enemy. He observed, that though there were, in the city of Carcasson, many of his subjects of a belief contrary to that of the church of Rome, yet that they were persons that had never done any injury to any one; that they had always assisted him in time of need; and that, for this their good service, he was resolved never to abandon them, as they, on their parts, had promised to hazard life and estate in his defence; that he hoped that God, who is the reliever of those who are oppressed, would assist them against this multitude of ill-advised men, who, under the pretence of meriting heaven, had quitted their own habitations, to come and burn, pillage, ravage, and murder, in the habitations of others, without either reason, judgment or mercy. Such was this unhappy nobleman's state of the case!

The king of Arragon returned with this remonstrance to the legate, who assembled a great number of lords and prelates to hear what he had to say. He declared to them, that he had found the count of Beziers, his ally, extremely scandalized at their inhuman proceedings against his sub-

Discourse of the count de Beziers at the siege of Carcasson as to the cruelty of the pope.

The king of Arragon intercedes earnestly with the pope's legate on his behalf.

jects of Beziers, and of the village of Carcasson; that he was fully persuaded, seeing they had neither spared the Roman Catholics, nor the priests themselves, that it was not a religious war, but a kind of robbery under the colour of religion; that he hoped God would be so favourable to him, as to make his innocence, and the just occasion he had to defend himself, sufficiently known. The king observed, that they must not hope now to have them surrender at discretion, since they had found, that there was no mercy to be expected; that it had never been found good policy to drive an enemy to despair, wherefore mildness would be a better method to reduce the Albigenes to the church of Rome than extreme severity. Finally, he desired them to consider that the count of Beziers was a young man, and a Roman Catholic, who might be very serviceable in reducing his subjects, who had so great confidence in him, to their obedience to the church. The legate told the king of Arragon, that if he would withdraw a little they would advise what were best to be done. The king being called in again, the legate told him, that, in consideration of his intercession, he would receive the count of Beziers to mercy; and, therefore, if it seemed good to him, he might come forth, and eleven with him, with his goods and baggage; but that, as for the people that were in the city of Carcasson, they should be delivered to his discretion; and that they should come forth all stark naked, men, women, and children. That the count of Beziers should be delivered into sure hands; and that all his estate should be confiscated.

*Insolence,
barbarity,
and perfidy
of the le-
gate, in
taking of
Carcasson.*

While the king of Arragon solicited more favourable terms, the legate employed a person of quality to endeavour to draw the count of Beziers out of Carcasson, with assurance under oath. that he would permit him to return to that city, in case he should not be satisfied with the legate's proposals. The count, on this assurance, repaired to the legate, and represented to him, that if he would think fit to treat his subjects with more kindness, he would easily induce them to comply with his desire, and recall the Albigenes from their error to the church; that the terms, which had been mentioned to him, were shameful and indecent; that he knew his people would rather die than see themselves reduced to such scandalous ignominy: he therefore entreated him to come to easier terms, and declared that he did not question but to make his subjects accept of any other more tolerable conditions. The legate's answer was, that the people of Carcasson might consider what

what they had to do; that he would concern himself no farther since the count was his prisoner, and should continue so till the city was taken, and his subjects acknowledged their duty. By which treacherous act, in a great measure, the city was lost, and Don Pedro returned into his kingdom^k, not at all edified with these papal proceedings, but at the same time, under a full persuasion of mind, that it was not at all his interest to divulge his real sentiments, for fear of pulling upon himself, and his subjects, that army of merciless barbarians, who had been spreading fire and sword through the finest provinces in France.

He was constrained, next year, out of regard to his own safety, to publish edicts against heretics; and, in the midst of a victorious expedition against the infidels in Spain, he was called again into France, to the conference at Narbonne: where, though he refused it at first, with the utmost indignation, he was compelled, at length, to grant the investiture of Carcasson to Simon de Montfort; a step which fully verified the suspicions that had been entertained, that temporal motives were the true springs of all the violent proceedings in this and the foregoing year^l. He was farther induced, to commit his only son Don Jayme to the care of this great lord, Simon de Montfort, upon a promise that he should espouse his daughter; and he undertook many other things that were probably against his will, since he was no sooner returned into his Spanish dominions than he consented to the consummation of the match, formerly concluded, between his youngest sister and Don Raymond of Tholouse^m. The Moors, having made an irruption into the territories of the king of Castile, with a prodigious army, and having besieged Salvatierra, that monarch applied to his neighbours of Arragon and Navarre for succours; which Don Pedro would very willingly have given him; and, for that end, wrote to Simon de Montfort to send him the forces that he had left behind him in Provence. But the pope's general thought they might be better employed in cutting the throats of heretics; and so the king forfeited his word, the Moors became masters of Salvatierra, and the monarch of Castile had the mortification of seeing himself unable to keep the field against the infidels, through the ambi-

A.D. 1210.

*Mischief
that hap-
pened in
Spain,
through the
ill conduct
of the court
of Rome.*

A.D. 1211.

^k Zurita. Hieronymi Blancæ. Ferreras. ^l Marca Hispana. Zurita Hist de Albigeois, chap. xliii. p. 47. ^m Chron. Var. Antiq. Zurita. Ferreras.

ous intrigues and anti-christian politics of pope Innocent the Third, and his confederates^o. As soon as he could do it with safety, the king of Castile came to Cuenca, in order to meet the monarchs of Navarre and Arragon, and to concert measures for the next year's campaign. The former sent one of the principal noblemen of his court, the latter repaired thither in person, and both gave the king of Castile the strongest assurances, that they would join him with their forces at Toledo time enough to make an autumn campaign^o, and to repress the numerous army of the Moors lately arrived from Barbary.

Don Pedro marches to the assistance of the king of Castile, and is present at the battle of Tolosa.

The miscarriage of the former year made the king Don Pedro extremely solicitous to fulfil his engagements with the utmost punctuality; with which view, he laboured incessantly to draw together a complete army in the spring; at the head of which he marched in person, accompanied by Don Garcia, bishop of Tarragona, Don Berenger, elect of Barcelona, Don Sancho, count of Roussillon, his son of the same name, Don Garcia Romero, Don Ximenes Coronel, Don Michael Luesia, Don Aznard Pardo, Don Raymond Fole, Don Guilermo de Cervera, Don Pedro Maza, Don Guilermo de Cardona, the count of Ampurias, and many more of the principal nobility of Arragon and Catalonia. He arrived at Toledo on Trinity-sunday^p. From thence he advanced with the kings of Castile and Navarre, and the whole power of the Christians in Spain, against the Moors; and had his share in that decisive victory obtained over the infidels in the plains of Tolosa: in which, it is said, they lost near two hundred thousand

A.D. 1212.

men^o. After having received all the acknowledgements that it was in the power of a grateful monarch to pay, Don Pedro returned, covered with glory, into his own dominions. As he was sensible this event would raise his credit at Rome, he resolved to make use of it, in order to obtain his divorce; for which purpose he sent thither a person, much in his confidence. The queen, Donna Maria, was

A.D. 1213.

no sooner informed of this step than she thought it necessary to repair thither in person; not only to solicit this cause, but another which she had against her brethren by the father's side; who, as she insisted, were adulterous bastards: and either her address was so great, or her pretensions so good, that she carried both points.

^o Rod Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. Rainald. ^o P. Moret, Luc. Tudenf. Chron. ^p Roderic Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. Zorita. Lucæ Tudenf. Chron. ^q Hieronymi Blancæ. Mariana. Ferreras.

The king Don Pedro, irritated at the pope's confirmation of his marriage, and at his directing certain prelates to proceed against him by ecclesiastical censures, in case he refused to live with his wife, as he was required to do by the pope's decree, went into his French dominions. There he found the counts of Tholouse, father and son, who had married his sisters, the counts of Foix and Bearn, and several other great lords in arms against Simon de Montfort; and with these lords he concurred, though, at the same time, he laboured to act as a mediator; and, with much difficulty, procured for them a cessation of arms. This however did not last long, and the king perceiving that negotiations served only to ruin the lords, agreed, from a principle of equity and justice, for as to his religion it is on all hands agreed that he was zealous for the church of Rome, to assist them in recovering their dominions by force; with this view he came at the head of the confederate army before Muret, a place not very strong, and in which there was no great garrison, but of some importance; for which reason, Simon de Montfort made a forced march, with the flower of his troops, and threw himself into the place. The confederates, who, in all probability, were not thoroughly acquainted with his strength, continued the siege; upon which, having made all the preparations necessary, he sallied with his whole force, defeated, and obliged them to retire. In this action, which happened on the 12th of September, 1213, Don Pedro of Arragon was slain, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and in the seventeenth year of his reign^{*}. The pope's general, Simon de Montfort suffered his subjects to search for and remove his body, that it might be, as it was, interred with his ancestors. His death was a great blow to the Christian interest in Spain; much greater to his subjects, who were left in confusion; but greatest of all to the confederates, who were, in a manner, undone by this fatal event^{*}.

Joins the confederates in Provence, and is killed by the papal troops before Muret,

The news of the king's death excited great tumults in Arragon and Catalonia. Don Sancho, count of Roussillon, the king's uncle, endeavoured to form a party; Don Ferdinand, abbot of Montarragon, was not so entirely taken up with the thoughts of another world, but that he would have condescended to act the part of a king in this. However, the nobility in general, and particularly Don

A.D. 1214.

Confusions excited in Arragon, by the king's sudden and unexpected death.

^{*} Zurita Hist. de Languedoc. tom. iii. cap. xxii. Mariana. Ferreras.

^{*} Rainald. Hieronymi Blancæ.

Pedro Fernandez de Azagra, lord of Albaracin, the prelates and magistrates of all the great towns were well affected to the right heir; and dispatched immediately the bishop of Segorba to Rome, to solicit the pope to send express orders to Simon de Montfort, to set their sovereign at liberty, that his faithful subjects might place him on the throne[†]. His mother, the queen Donna Maria, who was also there at this time, joined her solicitations to those of his prelate; so that, at length, such an order was obtained; but being transmitted to the cardinal legate in Arragon, he was to go with it to Montpelier, where, not without some difficulty, Simon de Montfort was engaged to comply with it: so that it was the month of May before the young king was put into the legate's hands; at which time, as his own memoirs say, he was six years and four months old. He was conducted, without loss of time, to Lerida, where the states were assembled, his title acknowledged, and the administration put into the hands of a council of regency, with the infant Don Sancho at their head^u.

Don Jayme proclaimed, acknowledged, and sworn to by the nobility of Arragon.

The calm that succeeded this declaration did not continue long. The infant Don Sancho had more power than he deserved, and much less than he desired. Don Pedro Fernandez de Azagra perceived this disposition, and very wisely provided for the king's safety, by putting him into the hands of the grand-master of the order of knights Templars of the noble family of Montaignu; who carried him to the strong castle of Monçon, where he lived with tolerable splendor, and was so happy as to have great care taken of his education. Don Sancho continued his intrigues; of which, as much a child as he was, the king took notice; and, by the advice of the grand-master, sent for Don Pedro Fernandez to Monçon, where it was judged the safest method to call an assembly of the states, in the month of September. In that assembly, the king was not only again proclaimed, but the prelates, nobility, and deputies from cities, of their own accord, swore fidelity to him^w. Before this time, the kings of Arragon took a very strict oath, to govern their subjects according to the laws, and to protect them in the full enjoyment of their liberties; but the people did not swear in their turn: so that what they did, upon this occasion, was purely voluntary, and a tacit intimation to Don Sancho to lay aside his

A.D. 1216.

[†] Hieronymi Blancæ. Zurita. Abarca.
Antiq.

^w Chron. Var. Antiq.

^u Chron. Var.

sinister practices, and imitate their loyalty. But the example of a whole nation could not teach him his duty; he began, the next year, to raise troops, under various pretences; and, as some authors say, attempted to seize his nephew. Of which design the king having given intelligence to the nobility, they suddenly took up arms, and repaired from all quarters to Monçon; from whence, having taken the king out of the fortress, they carried him to Huesca. From thence he was conducted to Saragossa; where he was received with the universal acclamations of his subjects, and, notwithstanding his tender age, seated upon the throne^x, that he might be no longer in the hands, or, in any degree, under the power, of an ambitious uncle.

Next year there was an assembly of the states, held at Tarragona, where the people of Catalonia did homage, and swore fidelity. They did still more: the crown was in debt; those who were about the king complained of the difficulties they were under for want of money; the people of Catalonia readily granted an extraordinary tax for two years. In the month of September, there was another assembly of the states of Arragon and Catalonia at Lerida, where, to purchase public peace, great revenues were given to Don Sancho, who there did homage to the king, and promised to be his faithful subject^y. In the mean time, there were still great distractions; the nobility falling out with each other, deciding their differences by force of arms, and despising the king's authority, because of his youth; though all writers agree in celebrating the pregnancy of his parts. Though a perfect child, he wrote a letter to pope Honorius, complaining of these disorders; and desiring, that he would take his person and kingdom more immediately into his protection. That pontiff wrote him a suitable answer, and sent cardinal Bernard his legate into Arragon, to render that young prince all the good offices in his power^z.

In the following year, the king found himself obliged to expose his person, though but twelve years old, against some of his rebellious subjects. Don Lopez de Alvero had a quarrel with Don Roderic de Cizana; they were both persons of the first rank; but the latter had the most power, and the use he made of it was to seize the person

A.D. 1218.

*Discords
and wars
among his
nobility.*

A.D. 1219.

^x Zurita.
Zurita.
Gestorum.

^y Hieronymi Blancæ. Chron. Var. Antiq.
^z Rainald Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus

of his adversary, whom he clapped into prison. The relations of Don Lopez finding themselves unable to deliver him, recollected, that there was such a thing as a king in Arragon. Upon their complaint, the council sent an order to Don Roderic to release his prisoner; but this he treated with contempt. The young king, piqued at such usage, resolved to make this the first trial of his authority; and, putting himself at the head of a few guards that were about him, marched directly towards the castle of Lizana, though there was nothing more improbable than that he should be able to reduce it. In his progress, however, he was joined by such numbers, that the place was presently inveited, and, after a sharp siege, taken, and Don Lopez set at liberty. The governor, who had commanded there, being obliged to take his place, and to remain a prisoner, under the person appointed to command by the young king^a. As for Don Roderic, he took shelter under the protection of Don Pedro Fernandez de Azagra, who had been always loyal; nevertheless, the king besieged his famous fortrefs of Albaracin; but after continuing before it for some time, was obliged to desist. It was not long before Don Pedro gave the king such satisfaction, with regard to his conduct, that he was entirely restored to his favour; and perhaps it might be owing to his advice, that the king sent an ambassador to the court of Castile, to demand the infanta Donna Leonora, sister to queen Berengara, in marriage^b: a very wise and effectual method to establish his authority at home, by securing the support of so powerful a neighbour.

A.D. 1227.

*Marriage
between
the young
king, and
Donna Leo-
nora, in-
fanta of
Castile.*

This important treaty was quickly concluded, as it was of evident advantage to both nations; and the court of Castile conducted the infanta to Agreda, where the king Don Jayme met them, attended by the principal prelates and peers of his realm. After the ceremony of the espousals, the king and queen went to Tarracona, and afterwards to Saragossa, where they received the nuptial benediction^c. As this marriage was celebrated on the 7th of February, Ferreras concludes, that the king was just then entered into his fourteenth year; for if he had been unfit for the marriage state, he thinks the marriage would have been delayed for a time. But the king's own account of the matter puts it out of dispute; he says, that he was but little more than thirteen; and that he did not consummate

^a Zurita, Hieronymi Blancæ.

^b Roderic Toletan. de Rebus Hispana.

^c Chron. Gen. Chron. Pinnat.

the marriage till a year afterwards. There had been a very strict friendship subsisting between Don Nuno Sanchez (the son of Don Sanchez, the king's uncle) and William de Moncada, viscount of Bearn; but, as it sometimes happens among persons of great rank, upon a sudden quarrel, they became inveterate enemies, took up arms against each other, and set the whole kingdom in a flame. On the first news of this disorder, the king assembled a body of troops, commanded the two lords to dismiss their's, on pain of being considered as public enemies; and Don Nuno Sanchez, not paying the respect that was due to his sovereign's orders, took several of his castles.

The infant Don Ferdinand, abbot of Montarragon, who had been long desirous of gaining the supreme administration, at least during the king's youth, under colour of negotiating an agreement between the two lords before mentioned, gained them both over to his party; into which he likewise brought Don Pedro Ahones, one of the most powerful and best allied lords in Arragon. Having communicated to them his project, they seized upon the persons of the king and queen. Under colour of taking them out of bad hands, and being more diligent than others in their duty, they in reality kept them close prisoners, and possessed themselves of the government^d; which they managed, as all factions do, in such a manner as might turn most to their own advantage.

A.D. 1222.

A.D. 1223.

The king and queen are seized by some seditious nobles, headed by the king's uncle Don Ferdinand, abbot of Montarragon.

The king bore this usage very impatiently in his own mind, though his uncle behaved towards him with respect; and though the lords, his confederates, endeavoured to atone for their want of obedience, by a ceremonious submission; which could not impose upon him, though it did upon the vulgar: for with all these exterior marks of reverence, every one, in his turn, had his demand to make; or, in plain terms, his private interest to serve, at the expense of the crown, and of the public. The king, seeing little hopes of deliverance, disssembled, with a very good grace, for more than a year; till hearing the people murmur, that, contrary to the treaties formerly made with Castile, that crown had received homage from Abuzite, king of Valencia, he resolved to lay hold of that circumstance, in order to recover his freedom. As soon as he had formed this project, he proposed to the lords, in whose hands he was, to go to Tortosa; to which proposal, foreseeing no danger, they gave their consent. From

^d Chron. Gen. Zurita, Abarca.

*The king
makes his
escape, and
invests Pe-
niscola.*

thence he made his escape to Tervel, and summoned thither the nobility to attend him in an expedition against the Moors ^c. As this was a very popular enterprize, he had soon a body of troops about him, with which he invested Peniscola; where it quickly appeared, that, though he had cropped the leaves, the roots of faction still remained; for several of the lords retiring with their troops without his leave, the king found himself under the necessity of raising the siege. Abuzite laid hold of this opportunity, and, offering to become his vassal, concluded a peace ^f; by which, in some measure, the honour of the crown was vindicated, and the end of the war answered.

As the king returned from this expedition, he met Don Pedro de Ahones, with a very complete corps under his command, marching into the field. He signified to this nobleman, that the peace was concluded, and that he should forbear hostilities; an injunction which he was so far from regarding, that he wasted the country, in a manner not at all suitable to the laws of war. The king sent Don Sancho de Luna with a body of troops to restrain him, who finding that was only to be done by force, engaged, defeated and killed him ^g. The king expressed great concern for this event, and immediately sent Don Pedro's

A.D. 1225.

*Insurrec-
tions in dis-
ferent parts
of the king-
dom.*

body to his relations. But his uncle Don Ferdinand applying himself to the passions of that family, and having recourse to those intrigues, which for many years had been his study, soon raised insurrections in almost all parts of the kingdom ^h. The king, understanding that Don Sancho Ahones, bishop of Saragossa, and brother to Don Pedro, was assembling a great body of troops, in hopes of making himself master of the capital, he sent Don Blasco de Alagon, and Don Artel de Luna, with what forces he could spare, to oppose him; and they behaved so well, that the prelate was totally routed ⁱ. The king marching against his uncle, thought he might prevent the city of Huesca from revolting, by an act of confidence and complaisance in going thither in person; but he had like to have paid very dear for this experiment, the populace taking up arms while he was in the town; so that, with the few people about him, he was forced to fight his way out ^k. After this escape, having assembled such of the nobility as remained faithful, with a body of troops

^c Zurita. ^f Abarca. Chron. Gen.
Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum.
Chron. Gen. ⁱ Zurita. ^k Abarca, Ferreras.

^g Indices
^h Abarca.

sufficient to defend his person, he declined prosecuting the war, in order to try what could be done by the softer method of negotiation.

The nobility, after a little reflection, perceiving plainly, that it would be a difficult, and, at the same time, a very dishonourable thing, to put the king a second time into prison, thought fit to reconcile themselves, as fast as they could, to their prince; who, instead of reproaching them with their past faults, studied excuses for their misbehaviour, that they might return with greater facility into his favour and presence. The great cities pursued a different plan of conduct: Saragossa, Huesca, and Jacca entered into a kind of league, by which they erected a sort of republic within a monarchy, under pretence of defending each other from the inconveniencies that were the result of the present troubles. But, in a little time, those who by their influence had determined them to this measure, began to assume such authority, and to levy such large sums of money, that the citizens quickly found, that, through the sound of liberty, they had been cheated out of the substance; and, therefore, sent deputies to the king, to desire they might be restored to his protection. This monarch perceiving, that after all, it would require some time to bring things into perfect order, declared of his own accord, that he was willing the archbishop of Tarragona, the bishop of Lerida, and the grand-master of the Temple should hear, determine, and redress, whatever grievances his subjects might sustain. The reputation of these three persons was so great, that the people unanimously consented to what the king proposed; and thus, after he had worn the title about fourteen years, he became really king, and his own master, when he was something more than twenty¹.

The great object of his ambition was, the conquest of the Moorish kingdom of Majorca; the inhabitants of that island, by their piracies, rendering the trade of his subjects in Catalonia altogether precarious. He assembled the states of that principality at Barcelona, where, upon the king's proposition, the conquest of that country was resolved upon, the number of troops fixed, and the necessary funds were found and settled^m. While the states were sitting, the countess of Urgel put in her claim to that territory, as daughter and heiress to the deceased

The king restores his own power, and his subjects peace.

By management with the pope's legate, the king obtains a divorce from queen Leonora.

¹ Abarca Chron. Gen.

^m Chron. Var. Antiq.

A.D. 1229. count, against Don Gerard Cabrera his nephew, who was in possession of it. The states decided in favour of the countess; and Don Gerard refusing to submit, the king put her into possession by force of arms. He afterwards prevailed upon her to marry his cousin, the infanta Don Pedro of Portugal^a. The cardinal bishop of Sabina, the pope's legate, being informed that the king and queen were cousins, though in a remote degree, intimated, that their marriage was null. Upon which Donna Berengara, and her son Don Ferdinand of Castile, consented that the validity of this marriage should be enquired into by a council to be held for that purpose at Tarragona; where accordingly it was judged to be invalid, the pope's legate presiding. But the infant Don Alonso, who was born of this marriage, was to remain unprejudiced by this decision, and to retain his right to the crown^b. Most writers agree, that this was also a farce, and the pope's legate acted by the king's instructions; however, she and her sons were sent back into Castile^c, and the king took the necessary measures for executing his project against Majorca. By the close of the year, the capital was taken, the Moorish monarch made prisoner, and the island in a manner reduced by the Christians.

The conquest of Majorca by the folly of the Moors becomes the means of reducing Valentia.

The Moors of Majorca had applied in the strongest manner, to Abuzite, king of Valentia, for his assistance; but he declared, that the truce subsisting between him and the king of Arragon, put it out of his power to comply with their demands: to which refusal they imputed the loss of their liberty and country. How reasonable, or how just forever his conduct might be, it drew upon him great suspicions, insomuch, that many of his subjects began to suspect he was in his heart a Christian^d. Zaen, who was governor of Denia, artfully heightened the spirit of dissension, till it gave him an opportunity of expelling his master and his son out of the city, and the best part of the kingdom of Valentia; upon which, they demanded, and obtained the protection of the king of Arragon with a suitable subsistence. Segorba and some other places remaining firm in their duty, Abuzite continued the sovereign of part of his dominions, notwithstanding

^a Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, Zurita. ^b Roderic Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. Luc. Teudens. Chron. Card. d' Aguire Conc. Hispan. ^c Zurita, Abarca, Mariana, Ferreras. ^d Franc. Diago Annales del Reyno de Valencia, Chron. Jac. Reg.

the capital and the rest of them were in the hands of A.D. 1230.
Zaen. This division suggested the hopes, at the same time that it furnished the king of Arragon with the means, of making himself master of the whole, an object which he had ever in view.

At this time, his reputation was so high in Spain, and he was held to be a prince who had the good of his subjects so much at heart, that the old king, Don Sancho of Navarre, desired to have an interview with him at Tudela; to which proposal the monarch of Arragon readily consented. The motive, on the part of Don Sancho, was very extraordinary; he was offended with his nephew, Thibault, count of Champagne, who had raised some stir in his dominions; therefore he adopted Don Jayme, and obliged his nobility, and even his nephew himself, to do him homage, and acknowledge him as his successor^r. The countess of Urgel, dying without heirs, bequeathed her territories to the infant Don Pedro of Portugal, her husband; but the king, being desirous of uniting that country to the principality of Catalonia, gave his cousin the lordship of the isles of Majorca, with which he was perfectly satisfied^s. This donation engaged the king to make another expedition for the reduction of Minorca. Having, upon this occasion, called an assembly of the states, he declared, in case any accident should befall him, the kingdom belonged of right to the infant Don Alonso, who lived with his mother in Castile; but he provided, in case of his accession, that he should bring no foreign troops, and reside in the castle of Monçon, leaving the administration to a council of regency. This expedition having ended as gloriously as he could wish, the king returned to Catalonia.

King Sancho of Navarre, out of pure regard to his merit, adopts the king of Arragon.

He called, soon after, an assembly of the states at Monçon, where he opened to them his new project for the entire conquest of the kingdom of Valentia. To facilitate this, an application was made to pope Gregory IX. for a bull of croisade; which was granted to him without any difficulty, and, upon the publication of it, the king found himself in a condition to prosecute the war with vigour. The pope, in return for his bull of croisade, procured a council to be held at Tarracona, in which some canons

Don Jayme, notwithstanding this adoption, suffers the right of succession to take place.

^r P. Moret. Zurita. Abarca. ^s Chron. Jac. Reg. Indic. Rerum ab Arragon Reg. Gestarum. Ferreras Historia de Hispan. sec. xiii.

were made that deserve notice, even in an Universal History. In this council, the reading of the Holy Scriptures, even of the Old or New Testament, in the vulgar tongue, was severely interdicted; it was forbidden to allow heretics to be present at divine service; and, by the seventh canon of this council, the holy office or inquisition was established in Arragon^t. The death of Don Sancho, king of Navarre, might have occasioned great disturbances, if this monarch had not been a hero in the severest sense of the word. The lords of that kingdom, after mature deliberation, concluded, that it would be most for the interest of the people of Navarre, to suffer the natural right of succession to take place, and consequently to raise Don Thibault to the throne. But, as his and their oaths stood in the way, it was necessary to ask the consent of the king of Arragon; who with a magnanimity very unusual, and which it would be impossible to heighten by any praise, very readily bestowed it: by which the peace of both kingdoms was preserved, and the common interest of the Christians in Spain much strengthened^u. He continued all this time his incursions into Valentia, augmented his dominions every campaign, and brought that sinking state nearer and nearer to its dissolution; in which he was cheerfully assisted by the nobility in his French, as well as his Spanish dominions^w, partly out of a zeal for religion, partly from a spirit of enterprize, and also with a view to their own interests.

By the interposition of the pope the king espouses Donna Yolande, or Violante, of Hungary.

The pope, at that time, Gregory the Ninth, desirous to attach so active and fortunate a monarch, in the strongest manner possible to himself, and to the holy see, proposed to the king of Arragon a marriage with Donna Yolande, or, as some style her, Donna Violante, the daughter of Andrew king of Hungary; which offer the king embraced, and the match was speedily concluded. In the mean time a dispute had broke out between him and his cousin Don Nuno, count of Roussillon; but the king readily submitting it to reference, Don Nuno acquiesced, and attended him in his expedition into Yvica, which island, when they had conquered, the king returned, and landed his forces in the territories of Valencia; but upon the news of the queen's arrival at Barcelona, he set out

^t Card. de Aguirre Conc. Hisp.
Ferreraz.

^u P. Moret, Rainald,
^w Zurita, Abarca, Hieronymi, Blancæ.

immediately for that city, where their nuptials were celebrated on the 8th of September. Next year the king was in the field, and reduced several places of consequence; but perceiving that the war might be much shortened, if, with a little more expence, the army was rendered capable of attacking the city of Valentia, he summoned an assembly of the states at Monçon, where he made them so sensible of this truth, that they granted him the necessary supplies; notwithstanding which, it cost him another year before they were in a condition to execute that design. In the mean time his troops gained a very glorious victory, under the command of Don Bernard de Enteca; in which, according to the credulity of the policy of those times, it was given out, that St. George, who is the patron of Arragon, was present*. By this good fortune the king was able to victual the fortresses which he had built, and to restrain the Moors; in effect, the city of Valentia was already blockaded.

A.D. 1237.

Zaen, who was the possessor, and styled himself king of Valentia, perceiving by the great levies the king of Arragon made in the winter, that he meant to besiege his capital in the spring, took all the precautions that prudence could suggest. He sent his favourite, Ali Albata, to Don Jayme, in order to try if, by any offers, he might be diverted from his purpose; and, at the same time, he addressed himself for succours to the king of Tunis, asserting, that this was a religious war, prosecuted with a design to drive the Moors out of Spain. In the former negotiation he had none, and in the latter but little success. The king of Arragon absolutely refused to listen to any proposals: the monarch of Tunis promised him help, as soon as an army and fleet could be assembled^y. Don Jayme was in the field in the month of January, and, having a numerous army, invested the city, though at a great distance. Thus he reduced abundance of castles and villages, or forced those by whom they were inhabited to abandon them; and as they all took shelter in Valentia, it produced a scarcity of provisions sooner than otherwise it would have happened^z. Some, however, of the Arragonian nobility, perceiving that much time was already consumed, without any great progress, were for

The king, to put an end to the war in Valentia, besieges the capital.

* Chron. Jac. Reg. Diago, Escolano, Zurita.
Jac. Reg. Escolano, Diago.

^y Chron. Zurita, Abarca, Mariana,
Ferreras.

A.D. 1238.

raising the siege; but the king was altogether inflexible, knowing the distress the Moors were already in, and that it would continually increase. Zaen once marched out with all his troops, as if he intended to fight; but finding the Christian army ranged in order of battle, he retired without attempting any thing. At length, however, the king of Tunis's fleet, containing upwards of twenty sail, appeared in the road; for whose reception the king of Arragon had made such preparations, that though the troops they had on board were landed, yet the throwing in any relief was found to be a thing impracticable, and therefore, after various attempts to little or no purpose, they returned home, and left their ally to his fate ^a.

The city of Valentia surrendered, Zaen and his subjects being allowed to depart.

In this sad condition Zaen sent his prime minister to Don Jayme, to know what terms he might expect if he was disposed to surrender. The king offered him leave to depart, with such of his subjects as would follow him, with whatever they were able to carry, provided this was done in the space of five days; and that he also surrendered such fortresses as were in his hands on the other side of the river Xucar. Zaen very unwillingly submitted to these conditions, and sent the king word, that provided hostilities were suspended, he would put the place into his hands on the 28th of September. The king replied, that in order to gain a suspension of arms, he must cause the banner of Arragon to be hoisted in the most conspicuous part of the city; a condition with which he complied ^b. At the day appointed Zaen evacuated the place, at the head of upwards of fifty thousand men; but, to prevent the difficulties that must have ensued from the precipitate march of such a multitude, the king of Arragon allowed them twenty days more ^c. He was no sooner master of Valentia, than he bestowed liberal rewards, as well upon the strangers as upon those of his own nobility who had assisted in the siege; and, at the same time, granted so many, and so great privileges to all who were willing to settle there, that it was repopled with Christians in a very short space of time ^d.

The rest of the kingdom of Valentia conquered in breach of the truce.

Next year his affairs obliged the king to make a tour to Montpellier, where the people had taken up arms against his governor. During his absence his generals, not at all regarding the truce made with Zaen, took several places,

^a Chron. Jac. Reg. Escolano. Diago.
^c Abarca, Ferreras.

^b Chron. Jac. Reg.
^d Chron. Primat. Chron. Barçimon.

and carried on the war as vigorously as before; and what must be looked on as very extraordinary, the Spanish historians pretend, that they received miraculous assistance in these expeditions; which the king of Arragon could not but disapprove, as equally inconsistent with his own authority, and with that public faith, which ought to be held sacred by all nations who pretend to religion or civility ^c. As this war had been chiefly conducted by his uncle Don Ferdinand, he might have thrown the blame of it upon him, and the lords who obeyed his orders; but, during the three next years, he himself acted in the same manner, though Zaen came to him in person, and offered to retire with his subjects into the island of Minorca, if he would suffer them to remain there in peace. But prosperity banishes all sense of shame, and ambition has no bowels. Don Jayme felt his superiority, and resolved to crush the crumbling monarchy of the Moors; therefore, sweeping one place after another, he made himself master of the far greater part of Valentia, with less respect to the maxims of justice and honour than he had shewn in the former part of his life ^f.

A.D. 1240.

The humour, with which he was now possessed, of directing all things at his will, induced him to divide his dominions between his two sons: to Don Alonso, whom he had by Donna Leonora of Castile, he gave the kingdom of Arragon ^g; and to Don Pedro, the son of Donna Viclante, he gave the principality of Catalonia, which he would have bounded by the river Segro ^h. This disposition disobliged all parties; Don Alonso considered himself as deprived of all that was given to his brother, and the people of Catalonia murmured at the cutting off from them the countries between the river Cinca and the Segro. To quiet the latter, he added this country to the portion of his younger son. This step so much provoked the elder, that, in conjunction with the infant Don Alonso of Castile, and Don Pedro of Arragon, he took up arms against his father, and made himself master of several places in the kingdom of Valentia. At length, after some acts of severity, unworthy the king's character, matters were accommodated, and the infant Don Alonso, for a time, restored to his father's favour; who, being freed from the apprehension of a civil war, went on taking or buying one

Don Jayme resolves to divide his dominions, by which he dis-oblige his sons and his subjects.

^c Zurita, Diago, Escolano, Mariana, Ferreras. ^f Chron. Jac. Reg. ^g Rod. Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. Zurita. ^h Hieronymi Blancæ. Ferreras.

place after another, till Zaen had nothing left in Valentia. But whether he survived these losses, or died of dis-ease or grief while he had somewhat to lose, the Spanish authors do not inform us.

Reduces all Valentia under his power, the inhabitants of which soon after revolt.

It was then, and not till then, that the king cast his eyes upon the few places that Abuzite had left, who, for his sake, had lost all Valentia; he proposed therefore, that this poor prince should accept of an equivalent; and having assigned him such revenues as he thought proper, seized and garrisoned those places, the inhabitants of which had been faithful to their sovereign through all his misfortunesⁱ. About this time the king, Don Jayme, committed an action, which most writers have represented as the foulest and most execrable crime possible; he caused the tongue of Don Berenger, bishop of Gironne, to be cut out of his head, and then wrote to the pope to banish him out of his dominions. This bishop, it seems, was the king's confessor, and revealed to the pope, as it is said, what the king told him in confession. For this offence the king was excommunicated, and the pope sent two legates to absolve him publicly, after an open confession and a severe penance^k. The king, who, though carried away sometimes by his passions, was certainly a good prince at the bottom, having called an assembly of the states at Huesca, declared to them the many inconveniences the people sustained by the prevailing of different customs, having the force of laws, in the different parts of his dominions; he therefore advised them to examine these customs, to reconcile them as well as they could, and to form a body of laws that might be obeyed generally, and understood by every body^l. The Moors in Valentia, either from a strong appetite to liberty, or through the ill usage they met with since they became subjects to the Christians, grew exceedingly discontented; and, at the instigation of one Aladrach, took up arms, seized several places, fortified them, and seemed disposed for a general revolt.

Makes a new distribution of his territories, which is no better liked than the former.

The king, who was then at Calatayud, went immediately into Valentia, and took the necessary measures for suppressing this rebellion; the seeds of which, however, he found to be sown so deep, and scattered so far, that, by the advice of some of the ablest heads amongst his nobility, he came to a settled resolution of obliging the

ⁱ Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. Reg. Gest. Diago, Escolano.

^k Rainald, Mariana, Historia General de Hispana, lib. xii. Ferreras Historia de Hispana, sect. xiii.

^l Zurita, Hieronymi

Blancæ, Abarca.

Moors in general to quit that kingdom. About the same time that he published an edict for carrying this project into execution, he made also, with great solemnity, his testament, by which he left the kingdom of Arragon only to the infant Don Alonso, gave the counties of Barcelona and Ribagorça, with the islands, to Don Pedro, his eldest son, by the queen Violante; the kingdom of Valentia to his second son Don Jayme; and his dominions in France to Don Ferdinand his youngest son by that queen. By taking these strong and strange steps he found himself embarrassed, on all sides, to the last degree; for the infant Don Alonso was on the point of taking up arms again, in conjunction with the infant Don Pedro of Portugal, who was no less injured; but, by the persuasion of the infant Don Alonso of Castile, they were prevailed upon to accompany him to the siege of Seville, on his promise to interpose with the king Don Jayme^m. On the other hand, the Moors offered the king large sums of money to revoke his edict; but finding him inexorable they took up arms, a circumstance which threw the whole kingdom of Valentia into confusion. However, being well supported by his nobility, Don Jayme executed his design by force, and compelled them to retire out of his territories, carrying with them their effects. They retired into Murcia, Granada, and some thousands transported themselves into Africaⁿ. By the marriage of his daughter Donna Violante with the infant Don Alonso of Castile, he procured to himself great advantages, and put it out of the power of the princes, whom he had disoblighd, to disturb the tranquillity of his dominions^o.

The desire the king had of leaving his dominions and his family in peace, engaged him to offer the princes he had disoblighd to leave all points in dispute between them to arbitrators chosen by the states. The states were pleased with this moderation in the king, whose policy it was in all critical conjunctures, to advise with his people, and to attach them to their duty by following their advice. He never succeeded better than on this occasion; for the arbitrators being chosen, the states, by their deputies, required the consent of the princes, who seeing their hopes gone if they differed with that assembly, were constrained to acquiesce. The commissioners met at a place called Ariza, and, after several conferences, determined, that

The king pacifies the people's murmurs by referring all grievances to the states.

^m Zurita, Abarca, Diago, Escolano, Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet. ⁿ Hieronymi Blancæ. ^o Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. Luc. Tudenf. Chron. Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio.
the

the infant Don Alonso should have the kingdoms of Arragon and Valentia, and the infant Don Pedro the whole country of Catalonia ^p. Next year the infant Don Alonso returned into his father's dominions, and was well received; the decision of the commissioners was ratified by the states, and some good laws were made in their assembly at Barcelona ^q. In the month of October the queen Donna Violante departed this life, and the king, as most historians say, espoused Donna Theresa Vidaura his mistress, by whom he had several natural children.

By the death of Don Alonso, the infant Don Pedro becomes heir apparent, and adopts his brother's notions.

The same conciliating disposition which induced the king to compromise all points in dispute with the princes his neighbours, with his children, his prelates, and his subjects, led him to aim at terminating those differences and perplexed pretensions, which the crowns of France and Arragon had upon each other. After a negotiation, which lasted near three years, he brought this point to bear, and finally adjusted every thing by one solemn and specific treaty. In this, the then king of France, St. Lewis, renounced, on his side, all rights on the counties of Barcelona, Gironne, Urgel, Ampurias, Cerdagna and Roussillon. On the other side, the king of Arragon renounced all his claims on the counties of Carcasson, Rodez, Beziers, Albi, Foix, Cahors, Narbonne, Nimes, and several other places. He likewise quitted all his pretensions to Provence in favour of queen Margaret of France, daughter to count Raymond Berenger. At the same time it was agreed, that prince Philip, the French king's son, should espouse Donna Isabella, the daughter of the king of Arragon, as soon as he was of age ^r. Some fresh disputes arising between the infant Don Alonso of Arragon, and the king his father, the former, who had a little before married Donna Constantia, daughter to Don Gaston de Moncado, count of Bearn, died suddenly, an event which gave a new face to affairs in this kingdom ^s. Don Jayme, who now considered Don Pedro as the heir of his kingdom, concluded a marriage between him and Donna Constantia, daughter to Mainfroi, prince of Tarento, who likewise claimed the title of king of Sicily, with whom he had the sum of fifty thousand ounces of gold ^t. The infant Don Pedro suspecting there was an intention to give the kingdom of Valentia to his brother

A.D. 1260.

^p Zurita, Abarca, Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet.
^q Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. Reg. Gest. Chron. Jac. Reg.
^r Chron. Jac. Reg. P. Daniel Hist. de France. ^s Zurita.
 Abarca, Ferreras. ^t Chron. Jac. Reg.

Don Jayme, made privately, but with all the legal ceremonies, a protest, that in case he should be brought to give any consent thereto in writing, or on oath, it was by force, and against his will, and consequently null and void, and ought to be so reputed: so suddenly had this prince changed his maxims, upon his becoming heir-apparent to the crown of Arragon.

The king took all imaginable pains to render his son's marriage acceptable to the pope, and to engage him to be reconciled to the prince of Tarento, but it was all in vain: at length, the pope dying, the king proceeded in the match, and Don Pedro espoused Donna Constantia at Montpellier, about the same time that prince Philip married Donna Isabella at Clermont. Next year, the king being in the city of Valentia, received a splendid embassy from the sultan of Egypt, whom he entertained with great magnificence, and at their departure sent with them two lords, from his own court, to compliment the sultan in his name. Upon certain intelligence, that Abu Joseph, king of Fez and Morocco, intended to invade Spain with a great army, the king caused Valentia to be fortified, and, in virtue of his alliance with the king of Castile, resolved to invade Murcia, as thinking it infinitely more expedient to transfer the war into the enemy's country, than to suffer the Moors to enter his own. To procure the supplies necessary for putting his project in execution, he assembled the states of Catalonia at Barcelona, and obtained what he demanded, though with great difficulty^u. He went from thence to Saragossa, where the states of Arragon peremptorily refused to grant any money; upon which refusal, some of the nobility gave him very considerable sums. The king, before the assembly rose, had recourse to his old method; he desired, that the states would name some of their own body, to consider the proposition he had made, and offered to be bound by their report. They named, accordingly, the bishops of Saragossa and Huesca, who immediately declared, that the king's demand was reasonable, and for the welfare of the state; upon which the supply was readily granted, and cheerfully paid^w. Next year, the king made an irruption into Murcia, where he took a great many places; and the year following made himself master of the capital: he delivered both places with great honour to the king of Castile, pursuant to the

A.D. 1262.

*Conquers
the king-
dom of
Murcia as
the ally,
and on the
behalf of
Don Alonso,
king of
Castile.*

^u Zurita Chron. Jac. Reg. ^w Indic. Rerum ab Arragon.
Reg. Gest. Chron. Jac. Reg. Mariana.

treaty between the two crowns; in consequence of which, he made this war only as the ally of Alonso the Wise *. By this punctuality he added greatly to his reputation; and yet, by putting the Castilians between him and the Moors, he consulted his own interest.

*Don Jayme
obscures
his glory,
by an ob-
stinate ad-
herence to
his vices,
of the
grossest
kind.*

This monarch, so prudent and so great in his public character, was the very reverse in his private life. He had engaged in an amour with a lady who was related to him; and, being inclined to marry her, applied to the pope for a divorce from his third wife Donna Theresa, upon pretence that she had a contagious leprosy: but the pontiff, being well informed of the true cause, wrote him a letter, in which he not only refused his request, but exhorted him, in very strong terms, to alter a course of life so injurious to his dignity, and so unsuitable to his years. As this had not the desired effect, the pope wrote to him the year following, assuring him, that if he continued the scandalous conversation he would excommunicate both him and his mistress Donna Berengara, daughter to the infant Don Alonso de Molina, and cousin to the king of Castile. It will appear probable, from the current of the history, that this epistle did make some impression upon the king's mind, since he took the cross, and resolved to go with a choice corps of his own troops into the Holy Land. Meanwhile, his son, the infant Don Sancho, was elected by the favour of the king of Castile, archbishop of Toledo †.

A.D. 1268.

*Takes the
cross, and
actually
embarks
for the
Holy Land;
forced back
by a tem-
pest.*

The king having conferred often with his son-in-law Don Alonso, who endeavoured to persuade him to lay aside his voyage, but without effect, at length quitted the court of Castile, and went to Valentia, where he made the proper dispositions for the security of that kingdom, during his absence. He next visited Arragon, for the same purpose. Having taken leave of his family, and of his principal ministers, he repaired to Barcelona in the autumn; and, on the 4th of September, embarked, with a fine body of troops, completely furnished, on board a squadron of thirty large ships, besides transports; but meeting with a severe storm on the coast of Sicily, they were separated, and the ship in which the king was embarked drove into a small port in France, from whence he returned into his own dominions ‡. He had scarce arrived there, before he found himself solicited to interpose

A.D. 1269.

* Chron. del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio.
Jac. Reg. Zurita.

‡ Abarca, Ferreras.

† Ibid. Chron.

in composing the disputes that had arisen between his son-in-law Don Alonso the Wise, as well with his family as his subjects. The chagrin he felt for undertaking this task without effect, was very much heightened by a quarrel that broke out in his own family, between the infant Don Pedro his eldest son, and a natural son of his, Don Hernando Sanchez, which was carried to such extremities, that the former employed emissaries to assassinate the latter, who, with great difficulty, saved his own life, and that of his wife by flight. Upon the invitation of pope Gregory IX. the king resorted to the general council held at Lyons, and there had an interview with the pope; where, some say, he took it ill, that the pope refused to crown him in a solemn manner, and others, that he was received there with all the marks of respect possible. However, he returned to Montpellier in the space of three weeks, and from thence into Catalonia, where many of the nobility had taken up arms, his own bastard son Don Hernando Sanchez being at the head of the confederates ^a.

A.D. 1274.

The king, as the surest way of restoring the public peace, caused an assembly of the states to be held at Lerida, where he complained, that upon information that the Moor Alasdrach, who had put himself under the protection of the king of Granada, had, by his intrigues, prompted a great number of his subjects in Valentia to take up arms, he directed the nobility of Catalonia to march thither with their forces, as the only method which, in this exigency, he could take; which order they disobeyed, and had entered into a league amongst themselves, to prevent any of them from being punished for their ill-conduct ^b. The states did all they could to compose these troubles, but to no purpose; they made, however, a law, to render the monarchy more strictly hereditary, swore fealty, of their own accord, to Don Alonso, the son of the infant Don Pedro, and desired the pope would give his sanction to this, which they would have considered as a fundamental law of the kingdom ^c. The king, as soon as the states separated, marched in person against the count of Ampurias, and sent his son Don Pedro, with an army, to destroy the seeds of sedition which were springing up in Arragon. The prince was very well pleased with this commission, and pursued it vigorously. Having intelli-

Disturbances in Catalonia, in which Don Hernando Sanchez takes part against his father.

^a Chron. Jac. Reg. Rainald, Zurita. Mariana, Ferreras.

^b Diago.

^c Abarca,

gence, that his brother Don Hernando had thrown himself into the castle of Pomar, he caused it to be invested, and pushed the siege so vigorously, that Don Hernando, attempting to make his escape in disguise, was, by his brother's orders, thrown into the river Cinca, where he miserably perished. Don Pedro, having extinguished the rebellion, made an irruption into the kingdom of Granada, to punish the Moors for killing his brother the infant Don Sancho, archbishop of Toledo; of which we have given a full account in the history of Castile. While the royal infant was thus employed, the king had drawn upon himself another reproof from the pope, by causing the wife of a private person, to whom he had taken a fancy, to be carried away from her husband by force.

A.D. 1275.

A new rebellion of the Moors in Valencia, and the death of the king Don Jayme.

In the course of the following year, the Moors in Valencia, under the command of Aladrach, and, by the assistance of the king of Granada, executed the revolt they had so long projected, and seized Montefa, and some other places^d. The king, upon the first notice of this commission, having assembled a numerous army, took up his own quarters at Xativa, from whence he detached Don Pedro Fernandez de Hajar, his natural son, with a strong corps of troops, to reduce Beniopa, into which the Moors had put a great garrison, and directed, that two other lords, with another body of troops, should prevent the enemy from sending any relief. Don Pedro Fernandez was fortunate enough to execute his design; but the other lords, being drawn into ambuscade, were totally defeated; Don Garcia de Azagra, with the best part of the troops, being cut to pieces, and Don Pedro de Moncado, grand-master of the Templars, made prisoner with the rest^e. The news of this defeat being carried to the king at Xativa, struck him to the heart, so that he immediately fell sick. He caused himself, thereupon, to be transported to Alcira, in hopes of growing better by the change of air; but, finding himself worse, he sent for his son Don Pedro, and, recommending his brother in the most passionate terms, resigned the crown. Having taken the habit of a Cistercian monk, and expressed, in a most pathetic manner, his penitence for the ill example he had given his family and subjects, he expired on the 25th of July, in the year 1276, in the sixty-third year of his reign, and in the sixty-ninth of his life^f. He left behind him his successor Don Pedro,

^d Zurita, Diago, Escolano.

^e Abarca. Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. Reg. Gest.

^f Hieronymi Blancæ, Mariana, Ferreras.

his second son Don Jayme, or James, to whom he gave the kingdom of Majorca, and all that he held in France, Donna Violante, queen of Castile, Donna Isabella, queen of France, Donna Constantia, the wife of the infant Don Emanuel of Castile, Donna Sancha, who, it is said, went in a disguise to Jerusalem, and led there a life of devotion, Donna Maria, who died a nun; all these by his second queen Donna Violante. By his third wife Donna Theresa, to whom he was certainly once, if not twice married, Don Jayme, and Don Pedro; and by Donna Berengara Fernandez, a lady of the first quality, Don Pedro Fernandez de Hajar.

The king Don Pedro III. caused his father's body to be deposited, for the present, in the cathedral of Valentia, and, having made a truce with the Moors, went to Saragossa, where he was crowned with great solemnity, on the 27th of November, with Donna Constantia his queen; and the states, at the same time, acknowledged, in the most solemn manner, his eldest son, the infant Don Alonso, for his successor^g. Having received, from the pope, permission to tax the clergy, for the war with the Moors, he attacked them on all sides, as soon as the truce was expired, and pushed them with such vigour, that they were obliged to shut themselves up in Montesa, notwithstanding that their strength fell little short of thirty thousand men^h. The king invested and attacked the place with such spirit and success, that by the close of September they were obliged to capitulate; by which means he put an end to the troubles of Valentiaⁱ. The satisfaction he derived from thence was quickly troubled, by the almost total defection of Catalonia, where the nobility took up arms, under pretence that he had not assembled the states of that country, or sworn to preserve their privileges; but, in reality, because they apprehended he meant to extinguish some pernicious customs, that were equally detrimental to the authority of the sovereign, and to the welfare of the greatest part of his subjects^k. In the spring of the next year, the king assembled the states of Tarragona, where he commanded the prelates and great lords to repair to Valentia, in order to remove his father's corpse to the monastery of Toplet; which ceremony was performed with great pomp and magnificence. He then attacked the confederate

A.D. 1277.

Don Pedro III. entirely subdues the rebels in Valentia, and compoſes things in Catalonia.

A.D. 1278.

^g Abarca. Indic. Rerum ab Arragon. Reg. Gest. Ferreras.
^h Zurita, Rainald, Diego. ⁱ Eicolano. ^k Hieronymi Blancæ.

lords, and partly by force, partly by treaty, dissolved their alliance, and obliged them to submit¹.

His firmness, address, and success in the conduct of his administration.

A.D. 1280:

He managed with great dexterity in the quarrels between the crowns of France and Castile; and though he had an interview with the infant Don Sancho, of which we have a large account in Mariana, yet it does not appear that he entered deeply into his measures, though he made him large promises. He compelled his brother Don Jayme to do him homage for the kingdom of Majorca, and all the dominions his father had left him, contrary to the intention of that monarch^m. The confederate lords taking up arms again in Catalonia, Don Pedro, though they had assembled a great body of troops, compelled them to quit the field, and to shut themselves up in the castle of Balaguer; where, after a short siege, he obliged them to surrender at discretion, and sent most of them prisoners to different fortresses; by which means the peace of his dominions was perfectly restoredⁿ. He went afterwards to Tholouse, where he had a conference with his brother-in-law king Philip; to whom he explained the motive of his conduct in Catalonia, that, in case of any fresh troubles, the malcontents might be able to obtain no succours from that side^o. On his return into Arragon from this interview, he received ambassadors from Don Denis, king of Portugal, to demand his daughter the infanta Isabella, or Elizabeth, in marriage; to which proposal he readily consented: and that princess was so exemplary in her conduct, that, after her demise, she was considered as a saint^p.

The manner in which he was engaged to vindicate his queen's claim to the crown of Sicily.

This monarch, in right of his wife, had a claim to the crown of Sicily. The French, who were then masters of that island, oppressed the people to such a degree, that John de Prochira, a noble Sicilian, formed the project of setting them at liberty. He went first to the pope, who, though he approved of his project, would run no hazards, Charles of Anjou, who then held Sicily, being very powerful in Italy^q. Prochira went next to Constantinople, where he represented to the Greek emperor, Michael Palæologus, that, under pretence of an expedition to the Holy Land, Charles of Anjou was making vast preparations by land and sea, with an intention to dethrone him; adding, that the only way to prevent this blow was to engage Don Pedro of Arragon to assert his right to the king-

¹ Chron. Var. Antiq.
reras, Mayerne, Turquet.
nuel de Faria y Sousa.

^m Zurita, Abarca.
^o Hieronymi Blancæ.
^q Rainald.

ⁿ Mariana, Fer-
^p Ema-

dom of Sicily. The Greek emperor closed with his proposals, and sent him into Arragon, where he was well received by Don Pedro, who told him, he was not averse to such an expedition, but that it would require an immense sum of money, which he had not^r. Prociura went back to Constantinople, where he so alarmed the Greek emperor's fears, that he obtained, at once, the large sum Don Pedro demanded. This he brought him with great fidelity, and, what was yet more extraordinary, he managed these several negotiations with so much address, and such profound secrecy, that when the king of Arragon began to assemble his fleet and army, none of his neighbours were able to penetrate his design^s. When his preparations were in a manner complete, he very unexpectedly set all the lords at liberty, telling them, that men of noble minds were to be bound by obligations; and that he expected that tranquility from their gratitude, which a prince of another character would have thought better secured by continuing them in confinement^t.

While the king was busy in equipping this great armament, the brother of the king of Tunis, who was lord of the town of Constantine, and a little district about it, sent to implore his protection against his brother, who threatened to strip him of his small seignior. Don Pedro promised him all, and even more than he desired, looking upon this as the most happy incident possible, since it afforded him a plausible pretence of saying, that he armed against the infidels^u. At length, having embarked a fine army on board a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, he weighed anchor on the 6th of June, from the port of Tangos, leaving the infant Don Alonso, and the queen his mother, regents, and steered directly for Minorca^v. He proceeded from that island to Alcael, a port in Africa, belonging to the lord of Constantine, where he landed his troops, and dispatched ambassadors to the pope to desire his assistance in carrying on the war against the infidels^w: but affairs had quite changed their face at Rome, where, instead of Nicholas III. who was an implacable enemy to Charles, king of Sicily, Martin IV. now occupied the papal throne, who was the creature of that prince, and who, suspecting Don Pedro's design, treated his ambassadors but roughly.

The king executes, with great spirit and success, the expedition against the isle of Sicily.

^r Zurita, Ferreras. ^s Nicholas Especial dans de Marca, liv. i. Niceph. Gregoras, livre v. ^t Zurita, Abarca ^u Martana, Ferreras. ^v Hieronymi Blancæ. ^w Malespini Hist. Florent. ^x Rainald.

In the mean time, the people of Sicily having assured Don Pedro, that they were entirely devoted to his interest, he quitted Africa, and arrived in the month of August at Trapani; from whence he proceeded to Palermo, where he was received with all imaginable joy, and with universal applause proclaimed king of Sicily. He afterwards employed his fleet and army in delivering Messina, which was besieged by king Charles, whose fleet was beaten at sea by the infant Don Jayme of Arragon, an action which left him the undisturbed possession of the island to which he laid claim⁷. The pope, however, on the behalf of his competitor, launched his spiritual thunder against Don Pedro, and, by a bull dated December the 18th, declared him excommunicated². The campaign ended with an agreement between the competitors, to decide their contested titles by a personal combat at Bourdeaux, on the 1st of June, in the ensuing year, to be attended each by one hundred knights. The French historians say, that Don Pedro was the challenger⁴; whereas those of Arragon assert, it was king Charles: but the fact is out of dispute, as also, that the king of England, to whom they were both related, promised them a fair field for terminating their quarrel.

A.D. 1282.

Combat for the crown of that island, at Bourdeaux, which ends in nothing.

The king Don Pedro employed the next spring in reducing most of the places in the island, in which his competitor had garrisons. The queen Donna Constantia, and her two sons Don Jayme and Don Frederic being arrived, in pursuance of his orders, he settled the regency in her and the infant Don Jayme with a council; and having detected a conspiracy against his life, and punished such as were concerned in it, he embarked at Trapani for Valencia, where he arrived on the 17th of May⁶. It is asserted by the historians of Arragon, that he actually proceeded to Bourdeaux, and, early in the morning, on the 1st of June, presented himself to the seneschal of Edward, king of England, and demanded of him, whether he might be secured of a fair field, as had been promised; but the seneschal told him, that king Philip of France was expected there with his brother; that he had a prodigious number of troops in their neighbourhood; and that he could not answer for his security: upon which the king left his buckler and his lance, as proofs that he had personally appeared,

⁷ Zurita, Abarca, Malespini Hist. Florent. ² Rainald. Mariana, Ferreras. ⁴ Mezeray Abreg. Chron. tom. iii. ⁶ Zurita, Ferreras.

and then withdrew privately and speedily into his dominions^c. The French historians say the direct contrary, alleging, that Charles, king of Naples and Sicily, appeared, traversed the ground appointed for the combat with his knights, and, that the king of Arragon arriving in disguise, came in the evening, when his competitor was withdrawn, and engaged the seneschal to enter his appearance^d. It is, however, certain, that the French soon after sent troops into Arragon, against whom the king, assisted by Don Sancho of Castile, defended himself without any loss either of territory or credit^e. In the month of October, he assembled the states of Arragon at Saragossa, in order to pacify some disputes which had arisen with the nobility about their privileges, and soon after received advice, that Roger de Lauria, whom he had left his admiral in Sicily, had gained some advantages over the enemy, and had made himself master of the island of Malta^f. At this time, Don Juan Nugnez de Lara, in right of marriage, was become possessed of Albarracin, a place of great strength and importance on the frontiers of Arragon and Castile. The family of Azagra had erected it into a kind of sovereignty, which, by a strange concurrence of accidents, but particularly by courting the favour of one crown, when that of the other was lost, and keeping up the mutual jealousy of such an acquisition, had been strangely preserved, and, from the precariousness of this tenure, fortified as far as the skill of that age would go. It was now become a terror to both; for Philip the Hardy, king of France, being at war with the two crowns of Castile and Arragon, and having Don Juan at his devotion, intended to make use of it as a door into the dominions of Don Sancho and Don Pedro. The former, very sensible of the consequences with which this might be attended, relinquished all his pretensions to the latter, who immediately sent the infant Don Alonso to reduce it. The siege was long and difficult, but it was at last surrendered by capitulation; upon which the king gave it to his natural son Don Ferdinand, whom he had by Donna Inez or Agnes Zapata^g. He intended to have reduced Tudela also this campaign; but finding that too hazardous an enterprize, he desisted, the rather because he was informed, that king

A.D. 1283.

Reduces the fortress and sovereignty of Albarracin, and gives it to his natural son.

^c Zurita, Gest. Comit. Barcin. ^d Mezeray Abreg. Chronol. tom. iii. ^e Gest. Comit. Barcin. Chron. del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo, Zurita. ^f Malespini Hist. Florent. Gest. Comit. Barcin. ^g Abarca, Ferreras.

Philip intended to attack him, in the ensuing summer, with the whole power of France, for which, therefore, it was necessary to prepare.

His glorious victories by sea, great generosity, and the resentment it raises in the pope.

The success of the campaign by land in Spain was nothing in comparison of the good fortune of his power by sea, under the command of Roger de Lauria, who, with a squadron of forty galleys, cruising within sight of the port of Naples, brought out Charles the Lame, prince of Salerno, son of Charles, king of Naples and Sicily, with his father's whole strength of seventy galleys well armed. The fight was long and obstinate, and the issue of it very extraordinary; for the admiral of Arragon not only gained a complete victory, but took from the enemy one gally more than the number of his whole fleet; and, to complete his triumph, the prince of Salerno himself^b. Donna Constantia, queen of Sicily, had a sister Donna Beatrix, whom king Charles had long kept in prison; the queen sent him a message, that if he did not instantly release and restore her sister, she would put his son to death: upon which Donna Beatrix was presently sent into Sicilyⁱ; but the people of that island, who have never been very famous for humanity, discovering very strong resentments against the prisoners taken in the last fight, Don Pedro was no sooner informed of it, than he gave orders they should all be set at liberty, except prince Charles, whom he directed to be sent into Catalonia, purely to preserve his life^k. The pope renewed his censures against the king of Arragon, and, to enforce them, gave away his kingdom, as a fief of the holy see, to Charles de Valois, son to king Philip the Hardy; publishing, at the same time, a croisade against the deposed king of Arragon; by which the same indulgences were given to those who fought against him, as if they made war against the infidels; and, which is very astonishing, the king of France accepted of this grant, in favour of his son, took the cross, and assembled one of the greatest armies that had ever been seen, in order to go and put him in possession^l.

A.D. 1284

The invasion of Arragon by the French; their retreat; the king Don Pedro's death.

This papal fury, though it excited a foreign war, did not in the least disturb the domestic peace of the king's dominions; for not only his lay-subjects, but even the bishops and clergy, treated this affair as it ought to be

^b Malespini Hist. Florent. Mezeray.

Hist. Florent.

^l Rainald, Mezeray.

ⁱ Zurita, Malespini

^k Gest. Comit. Barcin. Abarca, Mariana.

treated,

treated, worshipping God, and behaving with fidelity to the king, notwithstanding the pope's interdict. Don Jayme, king of Majorca, deserted his brother, and joined the king of France; upon which Don Pedro made a quick march into his county of Roussillon, and besieged Perpignan, in which city he was with his wife and children. The place was taken, after a long defence, but Don Jayme escaped; yet the queen and her son were sent prisoners into Arragon. When all his preparations were finished, Philip the Hardy attempted to enter Arragon, with an army of eighty thousand foot, and seventy thousand horse; the king Don Pedro seized the passes of the Pyrenees; but as such precautions seldom take effect, king Philip found means to bring down his whole army into Catalonia, where he quickly took Roses and Castillon^m. Don Pedro, having put a strong garrison into Gironne, under the command of Don Raymond, viscount Cardona, dismissed the greatest part of his troops, and kept the field only with a flying army. Don Raymond answered the king's expectations, and made a very gallant defence; for the siege began on the 28th of June, and the place was not surrendered till the 7th of September, and then upon very honourable conditionsⁿ. In the mean time, the king's fleets at sea defeated the French, and, with the assistance of a corps of land troops, destroyed all their great magazines at Roses; so that king Philip, after he had made a public entry into Gironne, and placed a strong garrison there, was obliged to return; but the king of Arragon made him pay exceeding dear for his passage: so that arriving with the remains of a once formidable army at Perpignan, the king was seized with a distemper which carried him off in a few days^o. Don Pedro no sooner returned from harassing the French army, than he presented himself before Gironne, and, on his proposing to the garrison leave to march out, and an assurance of conducting them safe into France, they very wisely surrendered. The king then sent his son Don Alonso with a strong fleet to punish his brother Don Jayme; but before he was well arrived in Majorca, the king fell ill at Villa Franca de Panades, where he departed this life on the 10th of November, 1285, in the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-sixth of his age^p. He left the crown of Arragon to Don Alonso, and that of Sicily to his se-

^m Mezeray Abreg. Chron. tom. iii.ⁿ Zurita. Gest. Comit.

Barciu.

^o Ferreras.^p Abarca, Hieronymi Blanca, Ma-

riana, Mayerne, Turquet.

cond son Don Jayme¹. Besides these, he left two younger sons, Don Frederic and Don Pedro, and two daughters, Donna Isabella, queen of Portugal, and Donna Constantia, who espoused Robert, king of Naples; besides a great many natural children, both sons and daughters. He was a very brave and generous prince, and really merited the title of Great, which is given him by the Arragonian writers, by his actions, as well as by his fortune. His old enemy pope Martin died a few months before him, and he also survived his competitor Charles of Anjou, king of Naples².

*Don Alonso
III. suc-
ceeds, and
acts with
great pru-
dence at his
accession.*

Don Alonso the Third succeeded his father, though absent in the expedition against his uncle. He was a prince remarkable for discharging his duty, in all relations, with great punctuality. He was obedient to his father, kind to his brethren, and so liberal in his temper, that he obtained the surname of the Munificent³. He received the news of his father's death almost as soon as he landed in the island of Majorca; but he took the capital, and reduced the rest of the islands, before he returned to Valentia⁴. His brother Don Jayme caused himself likewise to be crowned king of Sicily⁵. Don Alonso, upon his arrival at Valentia, received a message from the principal nobility of Arragon, who, from a league they had contracted among themselves in his father's reign, had assumed the title of the Union. The purport of this message was, that they were surprised he had assumed the regal title before his coronation, and swearing to maintain their privileges. The king gave them a soft answer, and hastened his coronation; which solemnity was performed with great magnificence, on Easter-day, in the church of Saragossa⁶. This did not entirely put an end to his disputes with the lords of the Union, who pretended he had no right to choose his own ministers or servants, but ought to receive them from the states. The king saw plainly, they were encouraged to this presumption by the perplexed situation in which his father had left his affairs; and, therefore, he would enter into no disputes.

A.D. 1286.

*Resolves to
marry the
daughter of
Edward I.
of England,
and re-
ceives
many fa-
vours.*

There had been a treaty, in his father's life-time, for a marriage between him and the princess Eleanor, daughter to king Edward the First of England: that monarch, therefore, interposed very kindly in his affairs, and sent over

¹ Malespini Hist. Florent.

² Rainald, Mezeray.

³ Zu-

rita, Abarca, Hieronymi B'ancæ.

⁴ Diago, Escolano,

Ferreras.

⁵ Malespini Hist. Florent.

⁶ Gest. Co-

mit. Barcin.

doctor Anthony Beck, bishop of Durham, and doctor John Vesey, to propose to him the heads of a treaty, which might make him perfectly easy. He was easily prevailed on to consent, that Charles, prince of Salerno, should be set at liberty, upon condition that his brother remained king of Sicily, and that he should marry the princess Blanch, the daughter of Charles, and that his eldest son Robert should espouse Donna Constantia, whom some writers call Violante, the sister of the kings of Arragon and Naples; but this treaty was rejected by the pope, who affecting to tread in the steps of his predecessor, would not acknowledge Don Alonso's title *.

The king employed the next year in the entire conquest of the islands of Minorca and Yvica, which, when he had accomplished, he returned into Catalonia, called an assembly of the states, and therein cancelled at once all the exemptions and privileges of the nobility that were injurious to the crown and the people ^y. The year following, he had an interview with king Edward at Consans, wherein it was agreed, that the prince of Salerno, or, as others styled him, the king of Naples, should be set at liberty, upon his giving his two sons, Lewis and Robert, and several lords, as hostages for the performance of articles. Of these one was, that he should give his daughter in marriage to Charles de Valois, with his dutchy of Anjou; upon condition, that he should renounce all title to the crown of Arragon; but the pope remained still inflexible. This pope was Nicholas the Fourth, who excommunicated Don Alonso, released Charles from his engagements, and crowned him king of Sicily. At length, king Edward prevailed upon all the princes, who were embarked in this quarrel, to send their plenipotentiaries to Perpignan; from whence soon after the congress was removed to Tarascon, where, in the month of February, all things were adjusted; but in this treaty, the king Don Jayme of Sicily was excluded, to satisfy the pope, who thereupon annulled all that had been done against the king of Arragon, or his father ^z. As soon as this affair was adjusted, Don Alonso sent the viscount of Cardona into Guinne, to receive the princess Eleanor, and caused preparations to be made for his marriage at Barcelona, with that magnificence which was natural to him. But in the midst of them he was suddenly taken ill on horseback, and, being carried to

After restoring peace abroad, and the dignity of the crown at home, he dies suddenly.

* Zurita, Rainald.
^z Mezeray.

^y Abarca, Malespini Hist. Flor.

his palace, died on the 18th of June, 1291, when he had reigned almost six years. He was a prince highly esteemed by his neighbours, and beloved by his subjects; and, in all probability, had he lived, would have equalled in reputation any of his predecessors.

Don Jayme II. leaves Sicily, and is crowned king of Arragon at Saragossa.

The states of Arragon assembled at Saragossa sent immediately the count of Ampurias to acquaint Don Jayme, king of Sicily, with the death of his brother, and to invite him to come and take possession of the throne. In complying with which invitation, he made such dispatch, that leaving his mother Donna Constantia, and his brother Don Frederic, regents of Sicily, he arrived at Barcelona on the 26th of August, and was crowned at Saragossa on the 6th of September following, to the great satisfaction of his new subjects ^a. He thought fit to act upon different principles from those of his brother, who, in consideration of the kingdom of Murcia, yielded to him by solemn treaty, had acknowledged the infant de la Cerda for king of Castile. This monarch, on the contrary, closed with Don Sancho, agreed to marry his daughter Donna Izabella, though but nine years of age, and afterwards consented to accept him for the mediator of the peace with the crowns of France and Naples; for by the death of the late king the treaty of Tarascon was dissolved ^b. These negotiations lasted during the life of Don Sancho, who had such an influence over the king of Arragon, that he prevailed upon him, for the sake of restoring the peace of Christendom, to renounce his rights to the kingdom of Sicily; which resignation, however, proved of no great consequence; for his mother and his brother Frederic absolutely refused to be bound by this cession, resolving to put themselves upon the fidelity of their subjects, and to trust the Sicilians with the defence of their title to Sicily

A.D. 1295.

against all opponents ^c. The king Don Jayme, notwithstanding, on the death of Don Sancho, espoused the daughter of Charles, king of Naples, instead of the infanta of Castile. Pope Boniface the Eighth was graciously pleased to absolve the bishops and clergy of Arragon for the great crimes of worshipping God, and obeying their kings, contrary to the commands of his predecessors, and Charles de Valois once more renounced his rights to the kingdom of Arragon, in favour of a monarch who had all the rights to it already that politicians could devise, name-

^a Gest. Comit. Barcin. Zurita.
Sancho el Bravo. Abarca.

^b Chron. del Rey Don
^c Malespini Hist. Florentin.

ly, descent, his brother's will, and the choice of the states ^d

The king Don Jayme, though somewhat mutable in his measures, was extremely steady to his interests. Perceiving the weakness of the government of Castile, he renewed his brother's treaty with the infant Don Alonso de la Cerda, acknowledged his title, and assisted him ^e. He likewise equipped a stout fleet, and, having embarked a body of troops on board it, went in person to reduce Alicant, which he took accordingly; and conquered afterwards the best part of the kingdom of Murcia ^f. Pope Boniface studied by all means to gain over the king of Arragon, in hopes of prevailing upon him to engage his brother, or to force him to quit the kingdom of Sicily. Don Jayme, wearied with perpetual solicitations, made, at length, a voyage to Rome, where the pope redoubled his caresses, gave him the title of standard-bearer of the holy church, and very generously bestowed upon him the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, to be held as fiefs from the see of Rome, whenever he should be able to conquer them ^g. All these concessions were made, in order to persuade him to employ his arms against his brother; but the king went no farther than to send for his mother and sister to Rome, where the latter was married by the pope to Robert, duke of Calabria, and then he returned into his own dominions ^h. After his return, the tears of his wife, the instances of his allies, and the fair promises of the pope, induced him to equip a numerous fleet; with which he sailed first to Naples, where he left his queen Donna Blanca with her father, and then weighed anchor with a full resolution to dethrone his brother. The king Don Frederic, who had also a great naval force, thought it better to meet than to expect the danger; and therefore put to sea with an intent to give him battle. However, on receiving a message from him, that he had better remain in his own dominions, he retired. The king of Arragon then landed his troops in Sicily, took several places, and required by proclamation all his subjects in his brother's service to join him, an injunction which most of them obeyed, and amongst the rest the famous Roger de Lauria. King Frederic, however, defended himself with vigour, defeated his brother's squadrons, and took many

^d Mezeray, Rainald.

^e Zurita, Abarca, Ferreras.

^f Zurita, Mariana, Meyerne, Turquet.

^g Rainald.

^h Hieronymi Blancæ, Rainald.

of his gallies ; upon which Don Jayme sent him word to release his subjects, and to send back his vessels, and he would give him no farther trouble ; a demand which, by the advice of his council, he absolutely refused. The king of Arragon retired in great discontent to Naples with the rest of his fleet, exhorted his father-in-law to assemble a great force in the spring, when he promised to return with a fleet superior to that which had been employed in this year's service ¹.

Makes another expedition against his brother, and though victorious discontinues the war.

The king Don Jayme, who had been forced into this first expedition, being now piqued at the losses he had received, assembled, on his return into Catalonia, a fleet of forty-five sail, with which he proceeded to Naples ; and, having joined the squadron of his father-in-law, commanded by Robert duke of Calabria, and Don Raymond prince of Tarento, steered directly for Sicily. Don Frederic, whose fleet in the harbour of Messina consisted of forty vessels, boldly weighed anchor, and, notwithstanding their great superiority, engaged the combined fleets. The fight was very obstinate and very bloody, but at length the Sicilians were totally defeated with great loss of ships and men ; and it was with great difficulty that king Frederic himself escaped with a few gallies. This success had a surprising effect on the king of Arragon's disposition, for, returning with his victorious fleet to Naples, he sent for his mother, the queen-dowager of Arragon and Sicily, and his family, and, in spite of all the persuasions of the pope's legate, his father-in-law, and his brothers, returned to Barcelona ^k. Next year he laboured by his ambassadors to persuade Don Frederic to think of peace, but no solicitations could induce him to renew the war, from which he was vehemently dissuaded by the queen his mother upon her death-bed ^l.

A D 1299.

A.D. 1302.

Receives the infant de la Cerda, but finds it impracticable to establish him.

In the opinion of politicians the troubles of one kingdom are often the harvests of another. The king of Arragon had embraced the party of Don Alonso de la Cerda, and owned him as king of Castile, for the sake of obtaining the fruitful kingdom of Murcia, a great part of which was actually by conquest, but in virtue of this concession in his hands. To keep this he was obliged to assist that prince in maintaining his title, and was in hopes that the king of France, who was nearly related to the infant in blood, would have taken a share in the war, or would at least

¹ Malespini Hist. Florent. Zurita.
cin. Abarca.

^l Mariana, Ferreras.

^k Gest. Comit, Bar-

have contributed towards its expence. But finding himself wholly mistaken, he was constrained to lay a tax upon salt, which extending to all his subjects in general, created great uneasiness, and induced some of the nobility to think of reviving the union^m. Upon this occasion the king called an assembly of the states at Saragossa, in which his conduct was approved, but the nobility disapproved theirs; however, his son Don Jayme was acknowledged presumptive heir to the crownⁿ. The discontented lords applied themselves to the queen-regent of Castile, as the malecontents of Castile had entered into a league with the king of Arragon. The king proposed to the queen a peace, if she would make a cession of what she had already acquired in Murcia; which proposal she rejected, perhaps with more spirit than prudence; for this refusal obliged the king to foment the troubles in Castile, whether he would or not^o. On the return of Don Alonso from the court of France, he gave him good advice, and, in plain terms, recommended to him compromising things in the best manner he could. The pope, tired out with the war in Sicily, consented at length to acknowledge king Frederic, of which assent that prince gave his brother notice, who was exceedingly well pleased with the news. The king was now very desirous of turning the cession of the islands of Sardinia and Corsica to some account; but his schemes were interrupted by the death of pope Benedict the Eleventh, and the long vacancy of the papal see. However, during this interval, the king took the best measures he could to avail himself of this donation^p.

A.D. 1301.

A.D. 1302.

A.D. 1304.

A peace with Castile was so necessary, that the king consented to the congress of Campillo, where it was not concluded much to his advantage. He sent an ambassador to do homage to pope Clement the Fifth for the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, and the Genoese, who were already in possession of part of these countries, sent an embassy to the king, in hopes of regulating matters amicably. Don Jayme demanded from the pope a bull of concession, which was sent to him, dated May the 28th; and several of the Sardinian lords came to pay their respects, offer him their service, and acknowledge his title. The progress of this affair was stopped, however, by the breaking out of another of a very extraordinary nature, which was

A.D. 1306.

The knights Templars attacked, but protected by the king of Arragon.

^m Hieronymi Blancæ, Abarca. ⁿ Zurita, Ferreras. ^o Chronica del Rey Don Fernand. Roderic Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron. Abarca. ^p Rainald, Mezeray.

the persecution of the knights Templars ; who, at the request of the pope, were generally arrested and thrown into prison, and all the large estates they held in the king's dominions were on the point of being confiscated. The kingdom of Navarre was at this time in the hands of France : nevertheless, a war broke out with the crown of Arragon, occasioned probably by some disturbances on the the frontiers ; in the prosecution of which Don Jayme was far from being successful, for his troops were twice defeated, and his standard was taken. In France, and even in Castile, at the request of the pope, the templars were treated with the most barbarous severity. The king of Arragon was much pressed to treat them in the same manner, but his constant answer was, " We must first be convinced of their guilt, and it will be then time enough to talk of their punishment^q." At the request of Don Ferdinand, king of Castile, he had an interview with him at the monastery of Huerta, wherein two points were regulated, the first, that they should make war jointly against the Moors, the second, that the infant of Arragon should marry Donna Leonora, the king of Castile's daughter^r. The business of the knights templars remained still in agitation, and the people in general were so provoked against them, that they were compelled to shut themselves up in the fortresses belonging to their order, to prevent their being torn in pieces, which precaution was represented to the king of Arragon as an act of rebellion. He marched, therefore, with a corps of troops against one of these fortresses. The knight, who commanded, surrendered immediately, and told the king the truth, assuring him that they desired nothing but a fair trial, with which declaration the king was extremely moved, took the whole order into his protection, and forbade any to abuse or insult them under the heaviest penalties. At the same time he declared, he was ready to receive any informations against them that were supported by proofs ; but if the informers failed therein, he would punish them as they deserved^s.

All things being in readiness for his expedition against the Moors, the king embarked at Valentia on the 18th of July, and soon after landed his forces in the neighbourhood of Almaria, which was the object of this expedition.

^q Ptolemæi Luc. Annales, Vita Clement V. apud Baluz. P. Moret, Mezeray, Zurita. ^r Chronica del Rey Don Fernand.
^s Mariana, Ferreras.

The forces being landed, with the ammunition and military stores, the fleet of Arragon sailed to join that of Castile, and to cruize upon the coast of Barbary, to prevent any succours which might enable the enemy to raise either of the sieges; Don Ferdinand having besieged Algezira, and Don Jayme having invested Almeria on the 15th of August^t. Mohammed Aben Alhamar, king of Granada, was exceedingly piqued at the king of Arragon's invasion, with whom he never had any war or dispute before, and therefore determined to attack him first. With this view he began his march towards him with a numerous army; of which motion, as soon as Don Jayme had intelligence, he quitted his camp, leaving a small body of troops there, commanded by his cousin Don Ferdinand, son to the king of Majorca, and gave him battle on the 24th of the same month; when, after a warm contest, the Moors were defeated with the loss of six thousand men, and those who had sallied from Almeria while the engagement lasted, were also repulsed by Don Ferdinand with great loss^u. This, however, did not hinder the king of Granada from attempting the relief of the place a second time, on the 15th of October, when he received another check. Notwithstanding which, the rains coming on, Don Ferdinand of Castile having retired from before Algezira, and the king having intelligence of some troubles breaking out in Catalonia, he thought fit to make a truce with the Moors, upon condition that they set at liberty all his subjects, wherever taken; and having embarked his army, he returned into his own dominions^w. On the twelfth of November, in the succeeding year, died his queen Donna Blanca, exceedingly regretted by his subjects for her many virtues and amiable qualities. At an interview with Don Ferdinand of Castile it was determined to persist in carrying on the war jointly against the Moors; and besides the alliance before contracted, it was agreed, that Don Pedro, the king of Castile's brother, should marry the infanta Donna Maria, daughter to Don Jayme; but, with respect to the war, as the pope refused to grant the usual succours, and as the troubles in Castile hindered the king from taking the field, the king of Arragon, who had still the conquest of Sardinia and Corsica in his own mind, remained quiet in his own dominions.

He makes war, in conjunction with the monarch of Castile, against the Moors.

A.D. 1309.

A.D. 1311.

^t Zurit. Abarca, Roderic Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. Luc. Tudent Chron. Mariana. Ferreras ^u Chronica del Rey Don Fernand.
^w Hieronymi Blancæ, Abarca.

Treats the knights Templars, on the dissolution of that order, with equity and indulgence.

The hard measure the Templars met with in other kingdoms, did not pass for any rule with Don Jayme, who caused their conduct to be examined in a council held at Tarragona, in which those who were convicted of any crimes were punished as they deserved, and the possession of their estates secured to the innocent during their lives; after which, as the order was to be suppressed, by the common consent of Christian princes, their revenues were assigned to the other military orders^x. The king's daughter, Donna Isabella, espoused Frederic duke of Austria, and though much solicited by his other son-in-law, the infant Don Pedro of Castile, Don Jayme meddled very little with the troubles in that country^y. The year following the pope interposed in behalf of Robert king of Naples, to prevail upon the king to desist, or rather to oblige the Catalans, his subjects, to desist from their expeditions into Greece.

Secures the commerce of his subjects against the depredations of the Tunizeens.

But while they were disturbing the peace of others, their own trade, and that of the kingdom of Valentia, was rendered precarious, indeed almost impracticable, by the piracies of the Tunizeens^z. The king, therefore, to put an end to this evil, caused a strong squadron to be equipped, under the command of William de Moncada, who had orders to make the infidels feel, in a very sensible manner, the weight of his master's displeasure. Accordingly he landed his troops, and made himself master of several fortresses along the coast, wasting the country in so cruel a manner, that, in order to be delivered from him, the king of Tunis offered to pay an annual tribute of five thousand doubloons, which the king of Arragon accepted; but it was upon condition that the fortresses he had taken should remain in his hands for the payment of that tribute^a. The very same year the king married Donna Maria, daughter to Henry, king of Cyprus, and, on occasion of this match, he sent an embassy to the sultan of Babylon, to desire his permission to ransom such Arragonians and Catalans as were prisoners within the extent of his dominions. His younger son Don Alonso, marrying Donna Theresa, heiress of Urgel, acquired the possession of that country, and, when he came to succeed his father, it was annexed to the crown, from which it was again disjoined^b.

A.D. 1314.

^x Ptolemæi Luc. Annales, Vita Clement V. apud Baluz. y Zurita.

^z Rainald, Abarca, Ferreras.

^a Mariana,

Mayerne, Turquet.

^b Hieronymi Blancæ,

As the affairs of this monarch were now in a very happy condition, he turned his thoughts entirely to the improvement of his dominions, providing for the welfare of his subjects, and giving what assistance was in his power to his allies. With this view, he sent his uncle Don Ferdinand de Híjar to mediate a peace between his brother Don Frederic, king of Sicily, and his father-in-law Charles, king of Naples, and afterwards joined with the king of Portugal as a mediator between the two crowns ^c. He procured from pope John the Twenty-second the approbation of the new order of Montesa, which he erected in the kingdom of Valentia, and upon which he bestowed the estates of the Templars. He procured also from the same pope, the erection of Saragossa into an archbishopric, and compelled some of his nobility, who had taken up arms to decide their disputes, to lay them down, and to submit to the determination of the laws ^d.

His prudent and moderate views, in favour of his people and his family.

All the satisfaction this great king enjoyed, from a continued series of prosperous events, was not a little disturbed by the untoward disposition and unexampled obstinacy of his eldest son, the infant Don Jayme, whom with great difficulty, and not without a mixture of force, the king brought to espouse Donna Eleonora of Castile, whom he quitted immediately ^e. Upon this separation, his father threatened him with the loss of his succession; to which the infant replied, that all the favour he asked was leave to renounce it ^f. Mariana has given us a very fine speech of the king upon this occasion, and it is very certain, that he omitted nothing that could be offered to make the young man quit this resolution. He was however inflexible. He said, he despised a life of care, and thought it not at all paid for by a crown; that he loved privacy and ease, and thought them very cheaply purchased at this expence; that he knew many bad things had been done to acquire crowns, but that he thought there was no crime in declining one, that was his indubitable right. Upon this declaration, the king called an assembly of the states, where, on the 14th day of December, the infant Don Jayme freely renounced all title to the crown, and the states with his consent, and in his presence, took an oath of fealty to his brother the infant Don Alonso ^g. Don Jayme of his own accord assumed the habit of Calatrava, and

The very singular and extraordinary case of the infant Don Jayme.

^c Zurita, Malespini Hist. Florentin.

^d Rainald, Abarca.

^e Chronica del Rey Don Alonso XI. Roderic Tolet, de Rebus Hispan. Ferreras.

^f Zurita, Abarca.

^g Historia

General de Hispana, lib. xii.

A.D. 1319. soon after changed it for that of Montefa. His subsequent course of life shewed, that he was not without vices and follies, but ambition was not amongst the number of the former, or unsteadiness of the latter. He passed his time in his own way, and lived and died content ^b. In the same assembly of the states, Arragon, Valentia and Catalonia were united, and declared to be inseparable in time to come ⁱ.

The infant Don Juan of Arragon consecrated archbishop of Toledo.

The next year was distinguished by another singularity in the king's family. His son, the infant Don Juan, being elected archbishop of Toledo, and that election being confirmed by the pope, he was consecrated in the presence of his father with great solemnity at Lerida, by Don Ximenes de Luna, archbishop of Tarragona, and Don Pedro de Luna, archbishop of Saragossa. He was no sooner in possession of his new dignity than he began to exercise acts of primacy, upon which the two archbishops excommunicated him. The king was exceedingly offended; but when those prelates told him, that they did it to vindicate the independency of the crown of Arragon upon that of Castile, he was very much softened ^k. A new war

A.D. 1320.

having broken out between Frederic, king of Sicily, and his brother-in-law Robert, king of Naples, the king of Arragon desired the pope to interpose, and at the same time demanded his permission to send two ships richly laden into the dominions of the infidels, to procure the liberty of multitudes of his subjects, Arragonians and Catalans, that were prisoners there, which was readily granted ^l.

States of Arragon and Catalonia approve the expedition against Sardinia.

The queen Donna Maria dying, the king married a third time, Donna Elizinda de Moncada. An assembly of the states being held at Lerida, the king laid before them his title to the island of Sardinia, and likewise informed them, that the inhabitants, weary of the tyranny of the Pisans, had pressed him to deliver them; that however, as he could do nothing without their assistance, he would not do any thing without their advice. The states answered, that he was bound in honour as a king to prosecute his right; that it was his duty to relieve the miserable; and that whatever he thought reasonable to ask, they were ready to grant. Don Sancho, king of Majorca, who was present, did homage for his dominions, and offered to

^b Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

ⁱ Zurita, Abarca.

^k Rainald, Roderic Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. Zurita.

^l Rainald,

Hieronymi Blanca, Ferreras.

serve in this expedition with twenty gallies. The infant Don Alonso was declared admiral and commander in chief, and, having hoisted his flag in the harbour of Barcelona, had quickly a fleet and army sufficient for the conquests he was about to undertake ^m.

But the king was advised to delay the expedition a little, *Undertaken by the infant Don Alonso, conducted with prudence, and ended with success.* till it should be seen what favours the pope would grant him, in respect of levying money upon the clergy, and also what dependence might be placed upon the assurances he had received from some of the nobility, and many of the inhabitants of the island of Sardinia. In regard to the court of Rome, he found himself absolutely disappointed; the pope grew jealous of his power, and therefore would contribute nothing towards making him so near a neighbour. In Sardinia some of the nobles took up arms in favour of the king of Arragon, surprised several of the garrisons belonging to the Pisans, and, having given the highest demonstrations of their fidelity by beginning the war, pressed the king of Arragon not to abandon them ⁿ. As this was never his intention, and his preparations had been still going on, there was nothing farther necessary than to send his orders for the prince to embark, having previously sent a small squadron, with a supply of troops and provisions, to the lords who had taken up arms. The prince sailed on the 5th of June with a fleet of sixty men of war and gallies, and two hundred and forty transports ^o. Upon his arriving happily in the port of Palma, and landing his forces, many of the nobility and gentry came in, and acknowledged the king of Arragon for their sovereign; by whose advice the prince invested Izlegias and Cagliari, the two principal places in the island, at the same time. Both these places made a good defence, and the Pisans, on their side, used their utmost endeavours to relieve them; so that it was the 7th of February in the year following, before the first of them surrendered. The latter held out near a year, and was surrendered at length upon terms, the republic of Pisa being to hold the city and castle as vassals to the king of Arragon, and to put the rest of the island into his hands.

This treaty being carried into execution, the infant Don Alonso returned into his father's dominions, and landed at Barcelona, on the 2d of August. In his absence, and

A D. 1323.

^m Abarca. Zurita. Mariana, Ferreras.
^o Hieronymi Blancæ.

ⁿ Rainald,
while

while he was dangerously ill, at the siege of Cagliari, his brother Don Pedro had prevailed upon their father to create him count of Ribacorga and Ampurias with very great solemnity, and, as some writers say, in case of Don Alonso's death, he was in hopes of defeating his nephews of the succession: his father, to prevent any intrigues of this sort, gave him the command of the auxiliary troops, with which he was obliged to furnish the pope, in consideration of his grant of the islands of Sardinia and Corsica; for, besides two thousand marks of silver, he was to send a hundred horse, and five hundred foot, to serve in the wars of the church.^p On the 4th of September died Don Sancho, king of Majorca; 1101 which, Don Jayme signified his intention to unite those islands to his other dominions: but the infant Don Philip, who had embraced an ecclesiastical life, having demonstrated to the king, that Don Jayme, the son of the infant Don Ferdinand of Majorca, was the lawful heir, and called to the succession by the will of the deceased king, the king of Arragon declared, that he would be as tender of another's rights as of his own, and relinquished all claim, but that of appointing the infant Don Philip his uncle guardian of the young prince.^q

A.D. 1324.

On the death of the king of Majorca, the king of Arragon waives his claim, out of regard to justice.

He defeats his uncle's scheme, and procures his son to be acknowledged successor to the king.

The fleet of Arragon had scarce quitted the coast of Sardinia before troubles broke out there; which, nevertheless, were quickly appeased. However, the potent family of Oria, and the marquis de Malespini, not finding their account, at least in the degree they expected, from this revolution, changed sides, and, in conjunction with the Pisans, renewed the war.^r The king of Arragon sent immediately a squadron of twelve sail with a fresh body of troops into the island. The Pisans were no sooner informed of this descent, and that the castle of Cagliari was closely blocked up, than they fitted out a strong fleet under the command of Gaspar Oria; but admiral Carroz, with the fleet of Arragon, lying before the harbour of Cagliari, prevented their entrance, and, after a very sharp and bloody dispute, defeated and dispersed them.^s In Arragon, the king held the states general at Saragossa, where, at the instance of the infant Don Alonso, his son Don Pedro was acknowledged heir to the crown, in case his father should die in the life-time of the king; with

A.D. 1325.

^p Rainald, Zurita, Ferreras.
Mayerne Turquet.

^q Rainald, Abarca,
^r Malespini Hist Florentin. Zurita.
^s Hieronymi Blancæ, Abarca, Mariana.

which

which disposition his uncle Don Pedro, count of Ribagorça, was so highly offended, that he withdrew from the assembly, with all the lords of his party ^t.

The infant Don Juan, the king's uncle, archbishop of Toledo, and chancellor of Castile, having lost the favour of the king Don Alonso the Eleventh, and being deprived of his high office, exchanged his archbishopric for that of Tarragona ^u. In Sardinia, Don Raymond de Paralta and admiral Carroz pushed the war with so much vigour and success, that at length the Pisans offered to evacuate the island, which they were permitted to do, in virtue of a treaty made for that purpose. The marquis de Malespini and the malecontents, having now lost all support, applied to the king of Arragon, to know what fate they were to expect; who, in return, acquainted them, that, in case they could forget their former seditious inclinations, they might depend upon the same favour and protection that was shewn to the rest of his subjects; upon which they laid down their arms, and returned to the quiet enjoyment of their estates ^w. The pope being engaged in a war against the empeior Lewis of Bavaria, the king of Arragon sent his son the infant Don Pedro with the auxiliaries that he was bound to furnish, as feudatory to the holy see for the island of Sardinia ^x. On the 18th day of October died Donna Theresa, the consort of Don Alonso; by whom she had three children, Don Pedro, Don Jayme, and Donna Constantia. Upon the last day of the same month deceased the king Don Jayme, surnamed very deservedly the Just, infinitely regretted by all his subjects, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, and when his glory was at its highest pitch ^y.

The king dies with very great esteem, and in possession of the hearts of his subjects.

A.D 1316.

Alonso the Fourth succeeded his father with universal approbation, and was crowned with great solemnity on the feast of Whitsunday following, in the cathedral church of Saragossa, by Don Pedro de Luna, archbishop of that city, in the presence of the states, who were then assembled. Upon this occasion, the king made many knights, and amongst them his son Don Jayme, whom he created count of Urgel. He also concluded a treaty with the kings of Tunis and Tremecen, to whom he was become very formidable by his possession of Sardinia ^z. In the

Don Alonso IV. succeeds his father, and espouses the Infanta Leonora of Castile.

^t Zurita.

^u Chronica del Rey Don Alonso XI.

Abarca.

^w Malespini Hist. Florentin. Ferreras.

^x Rainald.

^y Hieronymi Blancæ, Mariana, Ferreras.

Abarca, Hieronymi Blancæ.

beginning of the succeeding year, he had an interview with Don Alonso of Castile, with whom he concluded a very close alliance, and, as the seal of it, espoused his sister the infanta Donna Leonora; and, at the close of the year, that princess was delivered of Don Ferdinand, whom his father created marquis of Tortosa, and lord of Albaracin^a. In consequence of this treaty with Castile, he found himself obliged to take some share in the war with the Moors, and accordingly acted against the king of Granada both by land and sea; though the Castilian writers would persuade us, that he was a little negligent in that war, on account of his own disputes with the Genoese^b. It is indeed true, that the republic of Genoa having excited the malecontents to take up arms, and furnished them with assistance, the king entered into a war with them, which was both long and bloody; but that this did not hinder him from executing his treaty with Castile, appears uncontestible from hence, that the king of Granada had no sooner concluded a truce with Don Alonso of Castile, than he marched with a numerous army through Murcia into Valentia, where they wasted the whole country with fire and sword^c.

*Manages
foreign af-
fairs with
great suc-
cess,
and repu-
tation.*

The pope and the king of Naples interposed with Don Alonso of Arragon, in favour of the Genoese, who, finding their whole coast destroyed by the king's fleet, seemed desirous of putting an end to the quarrel. Don Alonso answered, that when they withdrew the troops they had in Sardinia, and gave him proper assurances that they would give no farther assistance to the rebels in that island, he would forget what was past, and live with them as friends for the future; but that, while he continued their enemy, he would endeavour to make them sensible, they had not consulted their interest in giving him offence, neither was he induced to alter his opinion by their sending a fleet of forty men of war and gallies, to ravage the coasts of Catalonia and Valentia. These afterwards made an attempt upon Sardinia, where they were so warmly received, that they retired with loss. The Moors of Granada, who had made another irruption into the kingdom of Valentia, likewise retired, upon the king's advancing towards them with a numerous army; so that abroad things went as well as the king could desire; and if they had remained in quiet at home, there could have been nothing left for them to wish: but the same spirit of discord that

^a Chronica del Rey Don Alonso XI.
Antiq.

^c Zurita, Ferreras.

^b Chron. Var.

disturbs

disturbs private families, in finding a passage into those of kings, excites national discontents^d.

To conceive this matter clearly, it is requisite to observe, that the generosity of this monarch was so well known, as to excite, soon after his accession, an application from the states to prevent his granting away any of the demesnes of the crown; which he took to be so reasonable, that he promised, upon oath, not to make any grants for ten years to come. This oath, his son the infant Don Pedro apprehended to be infringed, by his bestowing Tortosa and Albarracin on the infant Don Ferdinand, of which alienation he complained loudly. On the other hand, the king declared, that when he made that oath he had no thought of precluding himself from the right of providing for his children; and, by the advice of his young queen Leonora, he banished Don Pedro de Luna, archbishop of Saragossa, who, as she surmised, had put this into the infant's head^e. This step irritated Don Pedro to such a degree, that he surprised Xativa, which was one of the places the king had assigned Donna Leonora for her jointure. The queen, who was very sensible that the king's ill state of health, who was at that time very much afflicted with the dropsy, was what chiefly encouraged the infant to these excesses, applied to her brother, who refused to interfere at all during the lifetime of the monarch, who had rejected the applications of Don Juan Emanuel, and the rest of the malcontents, with great prudence and honour; but assured her, that if, upon his demise, his successor did her any injustice, she might rely upon his protection^f. The infant, to strengthen his party, laboured, with the consent of his father, to marry the heiress of Navarre. This year was fatal to two princes of the royal blood, the infant Don Juan, patriarch of Alexandria, and archbishop of Tarragona, less distinguished by his birth and titles than by his virtues; and the infant Don Jayme, who, as we have before observed, preferred a private life to the splendour of a crown; and, after he made that choice, never gave any sign of dissatisfaction, or the slightest grounds of suspicion.

Unhappy in his family, from what cause, and in what high degree.

A.D. 1334

In the beginning of the succeeding year, the marriage of the infant Don Pedro was concluded by the archbishop of Saragossa with Donna Maria, princess of Navarre, though it was at first intended he should have married her eldest

Dies with the sincere affection of his subjects, and highly respected by his allies.

^d Rainald, Malespini Hist. Florentin. Zurita, Abarca, Mariana
^e Hieronymi Blancæ.

^f Chron. del Rey Don Alonso.

A.D. 1335.

sister Donna Joanna; but it seems he liked the younger better, and insisted upon her being declared heiress of the kingdom, in prejudice of her elder sister, who, after this affront, married the viscount of Roan^a. It was in consideration of this marriage, that the infant engaged himself precipitately in favour of the people of Navarre, in the invasion they made upon Castile, where he received that chastisement that was due to his folly, as we have shewn in its proper place. The king, Don Alonso of Arragon, made this year a tour into Valentia, in hopes the air of that country might have contributed to his recovery; and, while he was there, he received ambassadors from the king of Granada, with whom he concluded a peace^b. The war in Sardinia still subsisted, and, in its consequences, had created some disputes between the crown of Arragon and the pope; the king insisting, on the one side, to be released from the tribute he paid for the island of Sardinia, since the whole of it was not in his possession; and the pope complaining, that the admiral of Arragon had acted to the prejudice of Robert, king of Naples^c. Don Juan Emanuel threw himself, at this time, upon the king's protection, who, though he would give him no assistance towards the execution of his project, did not think fit to deny him a retreat in his dominions, out of respect to his birth. The care of his physicians, and the mild climate of Valentia, proving ineffectual for the king's relief, he departed this life on the 24th of January, 1336, in the ninth year of his reign, having merited, by the gentleness of his administration, the surname of the Kind^d.

Don Pedro IV succeeds his father, and meets with much discord and trouble.

Don Pedro IV. felt all the cares and anxieties of royalty, from the moment he became a king. The queen his mother-in-law, Donna Leonora, with the assistance of Don Pedro Exerica, and some other persons of quality, took the necessary measures to provide for the security of herself and her children, though, at the same time, she wrote in very plausible terms to the king. The inhabitants of Catalonia pressed Don Pedro, with great importunity, to make a tour into that country, and to confirm their privileges before he was crowned; while the people of Arragon, on the other hand, insisted, that he should follow the custom of his predecessors, assemble the states, and confirm their privileges at his coronation. He judged it,

^a P. Moret. Abarca.

Zurita.

^b Rainald, Malespini Hist. Florent.

Blancq, Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet.

^c Roderic Tolet. de Rebus Hispan.^d Hieronymi

after mature deliberation, more convenient to comply with their desires, and accordingly he was crowned on Easter-day, in the cathedral of Saragossa; or rather he crowned himself; for the only two Catalau lords who remained with him advised him to this expedient, that the archbishop of Saragossa's placing the crown upon his head might not be urged as an argument that he held Arragon, as well as Sardinia, as vassal to the pope¹. Immediately after his coronation, the people of Valentia intreated him to go thither, and to confirm their privileges; but he thought it more expedient to go to Lerida, where, after he had done all that was expected from him, the prelates and lords of Catalonia did homage, and swore fidelity^m. As the king of Castile pressed him to confirm his father's grants to the queen and her children, he gave him only general answers, insinuating, that he was desirous of living upon good terms with the queen his mother-in-law, and of providing for his brethren; but that, if his father's grants were exorbitant, he could not acquiesce under them, without prejudice to his subjectsⁿ. The states general of his dominions approved of his conduct, and declared the estates of Don Pedro Exerica forfeited. The king, however, sent commissioners to Don Pedro, to summon him to return to his duty. He received him with great respect, and submitted to all their demands; but, upon the appearance of a body of Castilian horse, he delivered them into his hands, notwithstanding he had given them a safe-conduct. The king of Arragon immediately entered into a treaty with Don Juan Emanuel, and the malcontents of Castile, upon which ensued a war between the two kingdoms^o.

The queen-dowager Donna Leonora, having applied to pope Benedict XII. he acted, upon that occasion, in a manner very suitable to his character; he solicited the kings of Castile and Arragon to lay aside hostilities, and to resume the milder method of negotiation. He represented to the latter, that since he considered his father's grant to be exorbitant, it would be best to refer it to the states, concluding his interposition with a stroke of his papal authority, requiring the archbishop of Saragossa to come to Rome, to answer for a behaviour so unworthy in a Christian prelate, as that with which he was charged, of fomenting disputes in the royal family^p. The kings sub-

Compromises all differences with his mother-in-law Donna Leonora of Castile.

¹ Abarca, Ferreras. ^m Zurita. ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don Alonso. Hieronymi Blancæ. ^o Roderic Tolet. de Rebus Hisp. Luc. Tudens. Chron. ^p Rainald, Zurita, Ferreras.

mitted to the pope's advice; and Don Juan Emanuel, being reconciled to his sovereign, was appointed plenipotentiary for the queen-dowager: the king, on the other hand, made choice of his uncle the infant Don Pedro. Upon a conference held in the presence of the pope's legates, the arbitrators agreed, that the king should receive Don Pedro Exerica into his favour; that the king of Castile should release the viscount of Cabrera, and other lords of Arragon, who were prisoners in his dominions; that the queen-dowager should be put in possession of all the places assigned her by the late king, without prejudice to the authority of the reigning prince; and that the infants Don Ferdinand and Don Juan should likewise be put in possession of their appendages; but that the king might give an equivalent for the latter, if he thought fit. These articles were ratified by the kings of Castile and Arragon; and the two monarchs entered into a close alliance against the Moors, who threatened both kingdoms with an invasion, by land and sea from Granada and Morocco⁹.

A.D. 1338.

*First rise of
the quar-
rels be-
tween the
kings of
Arragon
and Ma-
jorca.*

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the queen Donna Leonora returned to court, where she was exceedingly well received, and had the generosity to pardon the archbishop of Saragossa all the injuries he had done her, though she knew he had prevailed upon the deputies of that city to protest against the last agreement. The king of Majorca having deferred doing homage for his dominions, the king Don Pedro assigned him a day for that purpose; and though he laboured to have the time prolonged, yet, in the end, he was forced to submit. The king of Arragon went in person soon after to Avignon, to do homage to the pope for the kingdom of Sardinia; and being accompanied at his public entry by the king of Majorca, a very unlucky accident happened. The lord, who led the king of Arragon's horse, suffering him to go a little too quick, he, who performed the same office to the king of Majorca, struck both the horse and the man: upon which the king of Arragon laid his hand upon his sword; but his uncle Don Pedro interposing things went no farther^r. The fleet of Arragon served with great reputation this year against the Moors, but the admiral who commanded it had the misfortune to be killed at the siege of Algezira, to the great mortification of the king of Castile as well as of his master^s. The precautions taken

⁹ Chron. del Rey Don Alonso, Abarca, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet. ^r Rainald, Abarca, Mariana. ^s Zurita.

by Don Pedro in repairing and fortifying all the strong places in Valentia, and the keeping a stout Squadron upon the coast, prevented the king of Morocco from executing the invasion that he intended: so that the young monarch acquired a high reputation, which however was chiefly owing to the prudent councils of his uncle Don Pedro, who managed the great influence he had over him entirely to the benefit of his subjects, and the honour of the crown¹.

The pope being well informed, that the reason why the king of Arragon was so exceedingly apprehensive of the Moors making a descent in his dominions, was the number of Mohammedans and Jews that inhabited Valentia, wrote to him in very pressing terms to drive them all out, and sent briefs upon the same subject to the archbishops of Tarragona and Saragossa; but the king, who knew that a great part of his revenue arose from the industry of the one, and the commerce of the other, was in no great hurry to pursue this ecclesiastical advice, but chose rather to reap the benefit of their stay, and to guard as well as he could against the inconveniences attending it. The people of Corsica, perceiving that the lords in Sardinia, who had embraced the party of the crown of Arragon, were infinitely more at ease than themselves, began to wish they were under the same sovereign. Hugo Cortingo and Lope Cenerecha, who were the principal persons in that island, dispatched the bishop of Aleria to assure him that if he would but afford them the countenance of a fleet they would revolt, and put the island into his hands; but Don Pedro had at that time so many things to attend, that he gave these lords a fair answer, yet did not accept of their proposal. However, he sent his uncle Don Sancho to Rome, to solicit a grant of the tenths of the clergy for three years, in consideration of his war against the Moors, and to remit the tribute of the island of Sardinia, since he did not receive so much out of its revenues².

His spleen against Don Jayme, king of Majorca, arose so high, that, notwithstanding that monarch had married his sister, he resolved to dispossess him of his dominions, which seemed a work of no great difficulty. That prince by a very unseasonable affectation of independency, had drawn upon himself the arms of the king of France, and was already stripped of most of the countries he held in

The pope presses the king and archbishops of Arragon to drive out the Moors and Jews.

A.D. 1410.

The king of Arragon determines to dispossess the king of Majorca of his dominions.

¹ Abarca, Ferreras, &c.

² Rainald, Ferreras.

that

A.D. 1341.

that kingdom. He had taxed his subjects in the islands so high, that they solicited the king of Arragon to take them under his protection ^w. According to some writers, the king of Arragon had been instrumental in exciting his brother-in-law to refuse homage to the French king, on purpose to bring him into difficulties; and indeed there is great reason to believe, that what they have delivered on this subject is true. For, in the midst of his distress, and when he was daily soliciting relief, he summoned him to appear in the assembly of the states of Barcelona, to answer for the non-payment of tribute, for presuming to enter into a war with France without his permission, and for coining money, which, as his feudatory, he had no right to do. About the same time, he sent his brother Don Jayme to fetch over the queen of Majorca his sister; and that unfortunate monarch her husband, seeing plainly that his ruin was designed, in a high fit of resentment began first: he renounced his homage to Don Pedro, proclaimed war against him, challenged him, and seized all the merchandize belonging to his subjects that were in his dominions ^x. Don Pedro withdrew his fleet from the coast of Castile, where it had performed great things, and took all his measures with such an air of uncertainty and trouble, as if he had been apprehensive of danger from a prince, whom he was contriving to dispossess of all his dominions, and made no doubt of performing it in a single campaign.

A.D. 1342.

*Executes
his schemes
with great
vivacity
and inex-
tinguishable
resentment.*

The situation of things in Europe, at that time, put it fully in the power of the king of Arragon to execute all he intended, with the same ease and promptitude with which it had been contrived; and he went through every step of it with the same stern unrelenting severity that he had shewn in his first proceedings. He began by declaring roundly on the 18th of February at Barcelona, that the king of Majorca stood deprived, for his contumacy and rebellion, of all his dominions; and, at the same time he made this declaration, he ordered his brother to fall with a strong corps of troops into Roussillon ^y. He embarked in person on board his fleet with fifteen thousand foot and three hundred horse, and landed in Majorca, on the 25th of May. The king Don Jayme had a considerable body of troops in good order, with which he thought it very practicable, either to prevent Don Pedro's landing, or with

A.D. 1343.

^w Zurita, Abarca.
yenne, Turquet.

^x Hieronymi Blancæ, Mariana, Ma-
^y Zurita.

some advantage to give him battle after he was landed. But alas! he was very little acquainted with his own circumstances; since no sooner was Don Pedro in the field, and in a condition to act, than the whole, or at least the far greatest part, of the king of Majorca's army deserted; so that he was forced, in a week's time, to embark with a few faithful friends on board a small ship, which landed him safely in France ². Don Pedro, on the other hand, made a solemn and splendid entry into the capital, and promised the inhabitants, that their islands should never more be detached from the dominions of Arragon. Having left a force sufficient to secure that, and reduce the two other islands of Majorca and Yvica, he returned into his own territories, fully determined to strip this miserable prince of the poor remains he had still left; in which design he made a considerable progress the same year; but at the request of the pope's legate, towards the close of it, he consented to a truce for eight months. This seemed to be the effects of pity, but proceeded in reality from policy; for his funds being exhausted, he was obliged to put his army into winter-quarters ³.

A.D. 1344.

As soon as the truce expired, which was in the month of May following, without paying the least attention to the interposition of the pope and other Christian princes, he resumed the war with such rigour, and with so great a superiority, that the unfortunate king of Majorca, who had shut himself up in Perpignan, finding it impossible to make any resistance, had recourse to his clemency. Being introduced into his presence by Don Pedro Exerica, bending one knee to the ground, he humbly acknowledged his indiscretion, and besought him to remember, that he was a king, a prince of his own blood, his brother-in-law, and that his children were his nephews. Don Pedro very drily answered, that, upon the surrender of Perpignan, he might merit his pity. It was accordingly surrendered, and the king of Arragon made his public entry into it, on the 16th of July. On the 22d of the same month, he published an edict, by which the county of Roussillon, and all the states dependent upon it, were reunited for ever to the crown of Arragon ^b. He carried his vengeance still farther. Under pretence of expressing his pity, he declared, that if the unfortunate Don Jayme would lay aside the title of king, he would allow him an annuity of ten thousand

Shews no pity for that monarch, when he came and submitted to his mercy.

² Mezeray, Mariana. Ferreras,

^a Rainald.

^b Zurita,

livres per annum, and permit him to enjoy some estates he had still left in France, which declaration, as he foresaw, drove that undone prince into despair. All that was left in his power was, to express his rage against the king of Arragon in the roughest terms, and the companions of his ill fortune threw out reproaches of the same kind against Don Pedro Exerica, which however were very ill founded, and had like to have been attended with very fatal consequences, at length, not knowing where to hide his head, the count of Foix generously afforded him a retreat, which gave the king of Arragon infinite disquiet^c.

A.D. 1345.

*Softens the
pope and
the crown
of France,
in the busi-
ness of the
king of Ma-
jorca.*

The pope and the king of France made still some shew of soliciting in favour of the dethroned king. But Don Pedro was a thorough politician, took his measures so well, rendered himself so formidable, and applied his presents and his promises with such propriety, that he quieted Clement the Sixth, and by proposing a marriage between his daughter and the grandson of the French king, he stopped all solicitations from that quarter. He discovered some inclination to revive his disputes with the queen-dowager, and his brothers; but Don Alonso of Castile sustained their interests in a very different manner from that which had been shewn by the pretended friends of the king of Majorca; upon which Don Pedro thought fit to desist. He was now become odious, but at the same time, terrible to his neighbours; however, the Genoese and the Pisans were in great hopes, with the assistance of some exiled malecontents, to have it in their power to expel his forces out of Sardinia.

A.D. 1346.

*Defeats the
schemes of
the Genoese
and Pisans
upon the
island of
Sardinia.*

The scheme was well laid, and, in all probability, would have had its effect, but Don Pedro's politics dissipated the storm; he made a strict alliance with the Venetians, which gave him a superiority at sea; then he granted a pardon without restrictions, and restored all the exiles to their estates, so that of conspirators they became courtiers in an instant; and thus the schemes of the two republics were absolutely defeated^d. The constant success that had attended his negotiations and his arms, cherished that ambition, which was natural to Don Pedro, and encouraged him to believe, that he might execute without difficulty what none of his predecessors durst attempt. He had already awed the states into many things, and he resolved to exert his utmost policy and power to procure their concur-

^c Mariana, Meyerne, Turquet, Mezeray.
Abarca, Ferreras.

^d Zurita,

rence in a measure, which he knew the best part of them must consider as directly contrary to the constitution.

In his marriage with the infanta Donna Maria of Navarre, he had stipulated an infraction of the rule of succession in that kingdom; and as he had by this princess three daughters, the infantas Constantia, Johanna, and Maria, he determined to set aside his brothers, and to engage the states to entail his whole dominions upon the infanta Donna Constantia. The first step he took for this purpose, was to establish a commission of twenty-two divines, and civil lawyers, and of these nineteen declared the king's proposition to be conformable to the laws of Arragon ^e. Ferreras, and some other writers, seem to be also of this opinion; but the ablest and most learned of the historians of Arragon are of the other side ^f. The infant Don Jayme, who conceived himself to be exceedingly injured by this disposition, associated the principal nobility of Arragon, in that kind of confederacy to which they gave the name of the Union, and declared himself their head; upon which the king deprived him of his post of lieutenant-general of the kingdom of Valentia, forbid him to enter that city upon any pretence, and extended this prohibition also to Barcelona, Lerida, and Saragossa ^g. In this situation of things, an event happened that might have changed the face of them entirely, which was, the queen Donna Maria's being brought to-bed at Valentia of a son, but this young prince died the same day, and, on the fifth day after, his mother also expired ^h.

The king, Don Pedro, having information that the queen-dowager had proposed to the court of Portugal a marriage between her son, the infant Don Ferdinand, and the infanta Donna Leonora, he dispatched a minister to Lisbon to solicit that princess for himself, in which pursuit, by the help of an infinity of intrigues, he prevailed. The dethroned king of Majorca made an attempt upon that country, but without effect; the same spirit that had driven him out inducing the people to keep him out; so that, with a few forces he brought with him, he was forced to embark again, and retire into France ⁱ. The news of this invasion, and of his brother Don Jayme's being invited by the nobility and people to Saragossa, in quality of head of the league, induced the king Don Pedro to go

Forms a declaration of altering the succession in favour of the infantas his daughters.

A.D. 1347.

His brother, Don Jayme, revives against him the union of Arragon.

^e Chronica del Rey Don Pedro IV. pana, sect. xiii. Hieronymi Blancæ. Don Pedro IV. Mariana, Ferreras. Sousa. ⁱ Mezeray.

^f Historia de Hispania, Chronica del Rey Emanuel de Faria y

into Catalonia to keep that country quiet. He had no sooner quitted Valentia than the nobility and people of that kingdom likewise formed an union, of which they made the infant Don Ferdinand chief. Don Pedro, soon after his arrival at Barcelona, dispatched an able minister to the court of Castile to dissuade the king from entertaining any correspondence with the union of Arragon, assuring him he would consider his sister, the queen-dowager's interest as his own, provided he would give no assistance to that assembly. The king readily promised what he required; but, at the same time, allowed the infant Don Ferdinand to raise eight hundred men in his dominions. On the other hand, Don Pedro licensed Michael Perez Zapata to become a mighty warm patriot, that, by insinuating himself with the principal persons engaged in the union, he might either bring them into the king's measures, or raise disputes among themselves; but, for the present, this project likewise failed. The king was on the point of quitting Catalonia, when he understood that the king of Majorca, with a small body of troops, had penetrated into Roussillon. Upon this intelligence he marched thither, attacked, and defeated him, and, having provided for the security of that country, returned into Arragon, where he found himself obliged by the union to call an assembly of the states at Saragossa^k.

He is constrained to call an assembly of the states, and to make therein great concessions.

He saw clearly that he should be obliged to make many concessions, and therefore, the day before the states met, he privately made a protest, that, whatever acts he did or signed in that assembly were null and void, as being against his opinion, and executed under compulsion. Fortified with this unkingly evasion he met the states, made them a long, artful disingenuous speech, and heard very patiently all the disagreeable things they had to say; for, without scruple, they told him to his face, that his reign had been hitherto a continued series of breaches upon their constitution; that, by bestowing public employments upon bad men, he had made the people of Arragon pay the wages of those who laboured for their destruction; that, for the future, therefore, he must think of governing by law; of removing those dangerous people from about his person; and of receiving his ministers, governors, and generals upon the recommendation of the states; otherwise they would elect a new king. He seemed to take no offence at this remonstrance; but contented himself with observ-

^k Hieronymi Blanca, Abarca, Mariana.

ing, that it was improper for persons in such an assembly to come armed. The assembly, therefore, made an order, that for the future none should appear armed in their debates. The king, now secure of a party, came the next day, and, falling upon his brother Don Jayme, in a set speech, told him, he was an unnatural and perfidious rebel, and that his associates were traitors. The infant excused himself very modestly, hinted at the services he had done his country, which, he said, were overpaid by the honour they had done him in electing him head of the union; but some of the members who were near the door opened it, and exclaimed, that the king had violated the privileges of the states, and that it was doubtful whether their lives were secure. Upon which a multitude of people armed burst in, and the king was indebted to his brother, and the chiefs of the malecontents, that he went away alive^l.

The infant, and some of the principal nobility, attended him to Barcelona, where the queen was expected, and where, while they waited for her, an apoplexy was so complaisant as to remove Don Jayme; a circumstance which has induced the historians of Arragon to assert, that it was of the king's procuring^m. It did not, however, contribute much to his advantage, since, while his marriage was celebrating with pomp and magnificence at Barcelona, on Ferdinand was making a great progress, by force of arms, in the kingdom of Valentia, and, from his success there, was declared also head of the union of Arragon; into which kingdom he sent his brother Don Juan to supply his placeⁿ. In Sardinia also most of the great families had rebelled; upon which the king sent Hugo Cervelon, with a supply, to his brother the viceroy, which proved fatal to them both; for, engaging the malecontents precipitately, they were, together with the viceroy's son, and all the Arragonian cavalry, cut to pieces.

Poisons his brother at Barcelona, and marries Douua Leonora of Portugal.

The next year was still more fruitful of great events; indeed, there have seldom happened, in the same compass of time, so many extraordinary transactions in any kingdom. The union of Valentia went on raising troops, and the union of Barcelona, according to the league that was between them, sent a considerable reinforcement, under the command of Don Ximenez de Urrea and Don Lope

In great danger from the confederates, styled the union in Valentia.

^l Chronica del Rey Don Pedro. IV Zurita, Abares, Hieronymi Blanca, Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. ^m Zurita, Hieronymi Blanca. ⁿ Chronica del Rey Don Pedro IV.

de Luna, which last was privately in the king's interest, and, by picking a quarrel with his associates, debauched the best part of the troops, and defeated the service. However, the infant Don Ferdinand was so well beloved, and the cause was so popular in Valentia, that he suffered nothing by this accident, but found himself very soon at the head of fifty thousand foot, and three thousand horse.

A.D. 1343. The king, Don Pedro, who was at Morviedro, with a very small party, being apprehensive of his safety, judged it expedient to fortify the place; a step which occasioned a general insurrection of its inhabitants, who intended to have put to death the king's chief counsellors and favourites, but that they secured themselves by a timely retreat, and left the king to take care of himself. He pacified the people, by assuring them, that he sought only his own preservation, upon which they judged it best for him and for them, to conduct him with the queen to Valentia, where they were received with great respect^o. In the mean time the king laboured to bring off his brother the infant Don Ferdinand, by proposing to declare him lieutenant-general of his own dominions, and his successor, in case he died without issue male; but the infant answered very firmly, that betraying the trust his country had reposed in him was not the proper way to merit a crown^p. Don Pedro then demanded of the king of Castile leave to levy some horse in his dominions, which request, because it could not be decently refused, and was thought of no great consequence, was granted. Accordingly Don Alvaro Garcia de Albornoz, who was related to Don Lope de Luna, raised, for Don Pedro's service, six hundred Castilian horse.

The confederates in Arragon entirely defeated, and Saragozza taken by Don Pedro.

By the ill conduct of the king's favourites, a sedition was excited in Valentia; the populace besieging the palace, and threatening Don Bernard de Cabrera, and Don Berenger de Arbella with death. The king, though a prince of great courage, was in much confusion; but Don Pedro de Moncado advising him to go out with arms in his hand, assuring him, that his presence would disperse the populace, he ventured upon that dangerous experiment, and, meeting with success, never after apprehended any thing from popular tumults^q. His favourites, in the mean time, fled to Barcelona, and procuring an address

^o Zurita, Abarca. Hieronymi Blancæ, Ferreras.
del Rey Don Pedro IV. Mariana.

^p Chron.
^q Zurita, Abarca, Chron.
del Rey Don Pedro.

from thence to the king, he followed them. The union of Arragon being persuaded, that the king was assembling troops against them, solicited the infant Don Ferdinand to disperse them, which he very gallantly attempted; but, through the unexpected junction of Don Lope de Luna with his forces, and those commanded by Don Alvaro de Garcia Alborno, the forces of the union were defeated; the infant was wounded, and taken prisoner; but, as it fell out very luckily for him, by the Castilians, who treated him with great respect, and amongst whom his person was in safety. Don Pedro declared Don Lope count de Luna, the first subject in Arragon, who had this title. Upon this victory, he marched directly to Saragossa, where he declared null and void the concessions he had made to the union; and, after having put the whole city in the utmost fear, executed thirteen of the principal persons in it; and thus, by a single miscarriage, the union of Arragon was dissipated.

The union of Valentia still subsisted; and, notwithstanding what had happened at Saragossa, made no overtures of submission. The next point, therefore, was to subdue them; on which expedition the king marched with his victorious army. The quarrel was decided by a battle, in which the nobility of Arragon behaved very gallantly, and those of Valentia with all the fury that could be inspired by despair; so that, in the event, they were rather butchered than defeated, since nothing but the loss of their troops could have lost the battle; an event which left the best part of the kingdom, and the capital, wholly at the king's mercy. In the first transport of this rage, he talked of giving it to be pillaged by his soldiers, burning it to the ground, and sowing it with salt; but some of the lords who were about him moderated his passion, and hindered him from committing these excesses. However, he entered Valentia as a conqueror, sacrificed numbers of better men than himself to his ambition; and, as at Saragossa, so here, he called for the roll of his concessions to the union, and destroyed it with his own hand: forgetting, that the promises of a king are sacred, and that he becomes, ipso facto, a tyrant, who professes, that he borrows his authority from force. Don Alonso of Castile interceded with him in favour of his brother Don Ferdi-

A like fate attends the nation in Valentia, all things being at the king's mercy.

* Roderic Toletan. de Rebus Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron.
 * Hieronymi Blancæ, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Chron. de Don Pedro IV.

nand, and queen Leonora, offering to conclude a marriage between his son Don Henry, and one of the infantas of Arragon: Don Pedro answered, that the queen-dowager had intrigued, and Don Ferdinand fought against him; so that they had no favours to expect; but as the one had been his father's wife, and the other his father's son, they should peaceably enjoy what he had left them. In regard to the marriage, if Don Alonso would restore him the kingdom of Murcia, and hold no correspondence with his malcontents, he said he was willing it should take effect.

The invasion of Majorca by the dethroned king, who is killed fighting bravely.

A.D. 1349.

The king had made Rimbao de Corbera viceroy of Sardinia, and he could not have confided that island to a person of greater courage or capacity. That officer quickly repaired the losses which his predecessors had sustained, and put things upon a right footing: but the Genoese having gained a great victory over the combined fleets of the emperor of Constantinople, the king of Arragon, and the republic of Venice, and beginning to make a great naval armament, the viceroy came to Barcelona, to obtain a proportionable supply of ships and men, which the king his master readily furnished. About the time he put to sea, in his return to Sardinia, there came intelligence, that the king of Majorca, with his fleet and army, was very likely to intercept him; upon which he landed his forces in Majorca, where Don Jayme quickly after landed; and, upon Sunday the 25th of October, was defeated, or rather oppressed by numbers, and, fighting courageously, refusing quarter, was slain^u. His only son Jayme, after receiving a grievous wound in the face, was made prisoner, and carried by the admiral of Arragon, Don Pedro de Moncada, to his uncle, who received him graciously, and sent him to reside at Barcelona, ordering his father's body to be brought over, and buried in the cathedral church of Valentia^w. The viceroy of Sardinia, after the defeat of the king of Majorca, re-imbarked his troops; and, upon his arrival in that island, settled every thing to the king's satisfaction.

A.D. 1350.

Don Pedro causes the pope's legate to be hung up by the heels.

However, Don Pedro considering that it lay at a distance, and that whenever disturbances happened there, it gave him no small trouble, he signified to the malcontent lords, that if any thing could induce them to be quiet, he was inclined to do for them what they could desire; which

^u Chron. del Rey Don Alonso XI.

^w Hieronymi Blancæ, Mariana.

^x Zurita, Ferreras.

declaration, for the present, brought things into order *. The pope's legate, Bernard Alanis, canon of the church of Valentia, having excommunicated some persons of high quality, for not paying some ecclesiastical dues, the king commanded him to absolve them, and, upon his refusal, sent both him and his father to prison; which step having no effect upon the legate, he ordered a gibbet to be erected upon the castle wall, and the legate to be hung up there by the feet, with an assurance, that if he did not do what the king directed, the rope should be cut, and he left to tumble down the rocks; but the canon having hung some time, desired to be taken down, and did as the king desired †. The pope, as it might be well expected, took fire at this outrage, and threatened the monarch of Arragon with all the thunder of the church; but the pope being poor, and the king rich and great, an embassy to Avignon, and a few good words, pacified all ‡. On the 27th. of December, Donna Leonora, queen of Arragon, was brought to bed of the infant Don Juan, to whom at his birth the king gave the title of duke of Gironne; which, in succeeding times, became the title of course of the eldest sons of the kings of Arragon. He renewed likewise his alliance with Don Pedro the Cruel of Castile, and terminated, by a treaty with the crown of France, all points in difference about the territories formerly belonging to the king of Majorca §. He likewise concluded a new treaty with the Venetians against the Genoese, and, the civil war breaking out again in Sardinia, he sent a stout fleet to the assistance of his subjects, and of his allies.

A.D. 1351.

A.D. 1352.

¶ That war becoming daily more serious, the king went into Catalonia, to hold an assembly of the states, where he demanded a very large supply, which was granted him, and having, in return, appointed Don Bernard Cabrera, at the request of the states, general and commander in chief, he, to oblige them the more, gave him the county of Bas. At the time of the arrival of the count, Don Bernard the viceroy was employed in the siege of Algieri; to succour which place, the Genoese sent a fleet of five large men of war, and fifty gallies, under the command of Antonio Grimaldi, one of the best officers in their service. The count Don Bernard quitted the siege, and, with the Venetian admiral Nicolo Pisano, who brought with him twenty gal-

His fleet, in conjunction with the Venetian, defeats the naval force of Genoa.

* Chron. de Don Pedro IV. † Zurita, Abarca. ‡ Rainald, Mayerne, Turquet. § Chron. del Rey Don Pedro de Pedro Lopez de Ayala, Mezeray, Zurita.

lies, went to offer the enemy battle. The Genoese, proud of their former naval victory, did not decline it, and on the 27th of August the fleets engaged with great fury and obstinacy on both sides. Some say, that the Venetian and Catalonian gallies were not only intermixed, but chained together: however that might be, there is nothing more certain, than that this was one of the hardest fought battles in those times; but, in the end, the confederates gained a complete victory, the Genoese losing no less than eight thousand men, amongst whom were many of their principal nobility, thirty-three gallies, and three thousand two hundred prisoners; on the part of the Catalans, three hundred and fifty men were killed, and two thousand wounded^b. After this glorious success, Don Bernard returned to the siege of Algieri, which, having no farther succours to expect, surrendered upon terms, all the malcontents being allowed to march out, except Fabian Doria, whose head was struck off the next day.

Resolves to go in person to put an end to the war in Sardinia.

A D. 1353.

The Genoese were under such a consternation at this defeat, that they submitted to the duke of Milan; and, being very desirous to keep the war at a distance, partly by money, partly by fair promises, excited a general insurrection in Sardinia, when the count Don Cabrera was on the very point of returning home. He landed his troops again, and having joined those of the viceroy, marched against the rebels, and gained a complete victory. However, finding that the Genoese had sent over a fresh supply of money and men, and were preparing a formidable fleet, he judged it expedient to return to Barcelona with his vessels, which stood in need of repair, in order to make a full report to the king of the situation things were in, and to explain to him the necessity of his going into Sardinia in person, if he judged the reduction of that island necessary to his glory, and the safety of his dominions^c. On his arrival, he found the king was at Valentia; upon which he went thither, was very graciously received, his plan being approved, and himself sent back to Barcelona to assemble a fleet fit for such an expedition. In the mean time, the king visited each of the great cities in his dominions, and demanded contributions for the war, which were very chearfully and readily granted^d. In this progress, the king had a hint given him, that he himself, and all his predecessors, had

^b Abarca, Hieronymi Blancæ, Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet. ^c Chron. del Rey Don Pedro IV. ^d Zurita, Abarca, Ferreras.

been extremely wanting to their own glory, and to the welfare of their subjects, in not erecting any where a public seminary for learning: of which truth he was so fully convinced, that, notwithstanding the pressing conjuncture of his affairs, he thought fit to found instantly a university at Huesca, which has since produced men of eminence in all kinds of learning.

All the necessary preparations for the king's expedition being made, he went first to Barcelona, and from thence to Roses, where he embarked with the queen, and some of the principal nobility of his dominions, on the 15th of June. His army consisted of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, his fleet of twenty-one sail of capital ships, and a hundred gallies. Upon his arrival, he found Algieri again in the hands of the rebels, and the Genoese; upon which he determined to besiege it by land and sea. The Genoese, on the other hand, attempted to relieve it by a fleet, but desisted from their project, finding it impracticable. The judge of Arborea, who was at the head of the malcontents, was more successful; for, understanding that the king's army suffered much from an epidemic distemper, and that himself was retired to Cagliari much indisposed, he marched by land to its relief, with twenty thousand men: upon which Don Pedro Exerica and Don Bernard de Cabrera, who commanded the siege, entered into a treaty with the judge, and, by granting him favourable terms for himself, induced him to abandon the Genoese. It was with some difficulty that the king was brought to consent to this agreement; but, at length, having ratified the treaty, which he never intended to execute, the town, on the 19th of September, was put into his hands, and he caused it to be peopled immediately by his own subjects. Next year, the king called an assembly of the states of this island at Cagliari, which instead of contributing, as he expected, to the pacification of the quarrels that had lasted so long, produced an unanimity of another kind, the issue of which was a general insurrection. His troops, however, had the good fortune to defeat the rebels in a general engagement; upon which, leaving the best part of his army behind, the king embarked for Barcelona. After his return, he made a tour to Avignon, to regulate some affairs with the pope, where, at his request, he offered to make peace with the Genoese, provided they

His expedition attended, upon the whole, with very indifferent success.

A. D. 1354.

* Hieronymi Blanca. Mariana.

† Zurita, Ferreras.

‡ Abarca,

A.D. 1355.

*Forced into
a war
with Cas-
tile, by the
arrogance
and pride
of Don Pe-
dro the
Cruel.*

would evacuate Sardinia, as, on the other hand, he was inclinable to make a cession of Corsica, reserving an annual tribute of fifty thousand florins; but the negociation being drawn into a great length, at last ended in nothing, though both parties were weary of the war^b; but still their animosities ran too high to admit of peace.

The Genoese sending fresh troops into Sardinia, the king of Arragon made suitable preparations for the defence of that island, and committed the principal management of the war to Don Bernard de Cabrera, count of Ossona. While his affairs were thus embarrassed, Don Pedro the Cruel of Castile, in a manner forced a quarrel upon him, as we have shewn in its proper place. Don Pedro of Arragon would willingly have avoided it; but when he found this was not to be done with honour, he defended himself and his dominions with courage. His mother-in-law, and both his brothers, were in the interest, and at the court of the king of Castile; but, on the other hand, the count Don Henry and the count Don Tello, brothers to that prince, had sought and received the king of Arragon's protectionⁱ. In a little time, his own brother Don Ferdinand, having made an irruption into his dominions with a body of Castilian troops, desired to be reconciled to him upon certain terms, with which he readily complied, and Don Ferdinand returned to his duty; an event which proved exceedingly fatal to his mother and his brother, whom he left in Castile^k. The pope interposed in vain his good offices between the two crowns, and we may guess at the respect paid to his authority, by the king of Arragon's entering into a league with the king of Morocco, as the monarch of Castile joined with him of Granada; which, however, was a small offence, in comparison of causing the queen-dowager of Arragon to be put to death, upon suspicion, contrary to the ties of nature, and the law of nations^l. He attempted also to invade the kingdom of Valencia, and to make an attempt on the

A.D. 1359. island of Yvica, but failed in both; neither had the fleets of Arragon any great success against those of Castile.

A.D. 1360. The war still continuing with Castile, and Don Pedro the Cruel having the advantage in a battle fought near Najara, Don Pedro of Arragon became very desirous of peace. He sent his daughter, the infanta Donna Constantia, this year, under the escort of a good fleet into Sici-

*Makes a
peace with
that prince
who takes
the first op-
portunity
to break it.*

^b Rainald, Baluz.

the Cruel. Ferreras.

Rainald, Mayerne, Turquet.

ⁱ Chronica del Rey Don Pedro

^k Zurita, Mariana.

^l Abarca,

ly to her husband, the king Don Frederic. Next year, by the mediation of the pope, a peace was concluded with the crown of Castile; but the satisfaction resulting from thence lasted not long. Don Jayme, son to the last unfortunate king of Majorca, and nephew to the king of Arragon, by a bold and bloody attempt escaped out of the old palace of Barcelona, where he was detained, and went to Avignon. Don Pedro the Cruel, having entered into an alliance with Charles the Wicked, king of Navarre, and thereby secured his assistance, made no ceremony of breaking the peace with Arragon; and, in conjunction with the king of Navarre, attacked that monarch unexpectedly, who thereupon recalled count Henry of Castile out of France, and gave him the strongest assurances of his protection and assistance. The king had now two pre-
A.D. 1362.

tenders to the crown of Castile, the count Don Henry, and his own brother, the infant Don Ferdinand. He encouraged both, though he had no affection for either; but the count Don Henry, having excited some jealousy of the infant Don Ferdinand, the king his brother ordered him to be arrested, and, upon his refusing to submit, a struggle arose, in which he was killed, to the great satisfaction of the count, and without any great regret on the part of the king, whose hatred pursued him from his cradle to his grave ^m.

The pope interposed in favour of Don Jayme, but to no purpose; but upon offering his mediation for concluding a peace with the Genoese, who were very troublesome, the king of Arragon accepted it readily ⁿ. The war with Castile gave him still a great deal of trouble; and though few princes have had parts better suited to their circumstances than the monarch of whom we are speaking, yet he found himself in a state of perplexity, which gave him inexpressible disquiet. This unhappy situation of mind drew him into one of the blackest and basest actions that a prince could commit. Don Bernard de Cabrera had been his general, his minister, and his favourite from the beginning of his reign, and by innumerable services had merited his confidence, though it had lost him that of his fellow-subjects, which he once possessed in a supreme degree. Don Bernard, knowing his master's disposition, endeavoured to prevent a reverse of fortune, by a voluntary retreat; from which, in this con-

The cruelty and injustice of Don Pedro of Arragon towards Don Bernard Cabrera.

^m Abarca, Mariana.
ras.

ⁿ Rainald, Baluz, Ferre-

fused state of affairs, Don Pedro had recalled him ; but that great man perceiving how much he was exposed to envy, and fearing its effects, endeavoured to retire to France. The queen, the count Don Henry of Castile, the count of Ribagorça, and others, prevailed upon the king to cause him to be pursued. Being overtaken and imprisoned, he was accused of numberless crimes, tortured by the king's command, and condemned by the infant Don Juan, duke of Gironne, whose governor he had been, to lose his head on a scaffold, in the great square of Saragossa, a sentence which was accordingly executed *. There is cruelty and treachery enough in this story, as it is thus told ; and, therefore we cannot, with Mariana, yield any credit to those who report, that the king pronounced sentence of death, and that Don Juan cut off his head with his own hands ; but it is more than probable, as the best historians agree in it, that Don Bernard's great offence was, being too good a servant to a bad prince †. The fleet of Arragon was this year defeated by that of Castile, an event which determined Don Pedro to those measures he afterwards pursued.

A.D. 1364.

*Assists Don
Henry,
count de
Trastámara
to mount
the throne
of Castile.*

The liberty the king had taken of discontinuing his tribute to the holy see for the island of Sardinia, induced the pope to look for a new tenant ; and the judge of Aborea being still in arms against the king, and wanting only the gloss of a title, was willing enough to purchase it on the pope's terms. This bargain could not be so secretly carried, but it came to the king of Arragon's knowledge, who immediately sent a person of distinction to do homage to pope Urban the Fifth at Avignon, and to pay the arrears of tribute ; upon which, in the judgment of the pope, he became a legal monarch again ‡. This incident and some other troublesome affairs, did not hinder Don Pedro from prosecuting his great design, of enabling the count Don Henry to dethrone his brother the king of Castile ; for which assistance he expected a very large recompence, though it was visibly his interest to have concurred in it without any. We have shewn, in another place, how this revolution was effected, which, at the very beginning, did the business of Don Pedro, king of Arragon ; for the king of Castile no sooner found himself pressed than he abandoned all the conquests he had made in his dominions ; but when he came to summon

A.D. 1367.

* Zurita
‡ Rainald, Ferreras.

Historia General de España, lib. xvi

king Henry, when in possession of the crown, to yield him the kingdom of Murcia, which he had always aimed at, he refused it, though he complied with all the rest of his engagements ^r. His refusal in all probability induced the kingdom of Arragon to engage in a league with Edward, prince of Wales, to whom he granted a free passage, and some assistance in his expedition for dethroning king Henry; by which means he secured himself against the revenge of Don Pedro the Cruel; but this step did not hinder his entering into fresh negotiations with king Henry next year, when he attempted the recovery of his kingdom.

The troubles in Sardinia continued, or rather increased, so that the king was obliged to send a new army, under the command of Don Pedro de Luna, who obliged the judge of Aborea to shut himself up in the strong town of Oristan, which he immediately invested with the whole force that he had brought with him, and the best part of the troops that were in the island before, hoping to put an end to the war by the reduction of the place; but a sedition happened in his camp, and he had unluckily so great a contempt for the enemy, that he did not observe a very strict discipline; of which circumstance the judge of Arborea taking advantage, issued out of Oristan with all the troops he had, and attacked him with such fury, and so great advantage, that he himself, his brother Don Philip, and the greatest part of his forces, were cut to pieces, and the rest, to a man, were made prisoners. The news of this disaster struck the king of Arragon with great consternation ^s, and induced him to temporize with the king of Castile, whose brother the count Don Tello had scandalously yielded to him many places in Castile ^t. He entered also into a league with the king of Portugal, who styled himself monarch of Castile, but he did not execute it with any great punctuality, as he only aimed at keeping the king Don Henry in awe ^u. In Sardinia, when things were desperate, and there was no time to transport forces, he changed the face of affairs at once, by appointing a nobleman, of the family of Doria, viceroy. He was at that time amongst the malecontents, but, upon receiving this favour from the king of Arragon, quitted them, and brought such an accession of force to the king's troops, as

Difficulties to which he was exposed in the conduct of his affairs at home and abroad.

^r Zurita, Chronica del Rey Don Pedro the Cruel. ^s Historia General de la Isla y Reyno de Cerdana. Zurita, Mariana. ^t Abarca, Ferreras. ^u Emanuel de Faria y Sousa.

A. D. 1371.

*Concludes a
treaty of
peace with
Don Henry
of Castile
upon rea-
sonable
terms.*

put things once more in a good condition, and gained time for the king to send thither a powerful squadron. On board of this fleet went an English gentleman, whose name was captain Walter Bennet, who, having undertaken to carry over a thousand lances, the king gave him all the lands of the judge of Arborea, when he could conquer them ^w.

Next year, the king renewed the truce, which had been made with the king of Castile; married both his sons; the eldest, Don Juan, to Martha, sister to the count of Armagnac, and the younger, Don Martin, to Donna Maria Lopez de Luna, daughter to the count of that name. At this juncture he did a thing, which ought not to be buried in oblivion; he sent for Don Bernardin de Cabrera, and, having publicly declared, that he was satisfied of his grandfather's innocence, and that he had been most grossly imposed upon by his enemies, he restored him to the title of count of Osiona, to all the estates of the family, and made him satisfaction for the time they had been in the hands of the crown. The people who had applauded his injustice, because they hated his favourite, were very silent as to this action; which was by much the greatest in his whole reign ^x. As he grew old, he began to be apprehensive of the intrigues of the king of Castile, who had set Don Jayme, king of Majorca, at liberty, and practised the very arts that he had learned in his court, to give him disquiet. However, there was a circumstance, that, in the midst of all the intrigues on both sides, kept these princes from coming to extremities, or even from doing each other all the secret mischiefs they might have done. The infant Don Juan, who was the heir of Castile, had been bred up in the court of Arragon with the infanta Leonora, and being accustomed to consider her as his wife, his passions increased with his years ^y. The king Don Henry, having perfected all his schemes, and having a numerous army on the frontiers of Arragon, sent to let Don Pedro know, that he was sensible of the injuries he had received, so he did not forget the favours he had formerly done him, and therefore he was content, forgetting all subjects of dispute, to make a solid and lasting peace, and to complete the marriage of their children, which had been talked of from their infancy. The king Don Pedro,

^w Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum.
ca, Ferreras.

^x Abarca, Ferreras. ^y Hieronymi Blancae Chronica del Rey Don Henrique. Zurita.

to whom this message was delivered, rejected the offer with scorn and contempt, because it was accompanied with menaces of war; but, at the same time, he signified to the queen of Castile, that though he disdained her husband's threats, yet out of respect to her, and the constancy of the infant Don Juan, he was willing to sign a peace upon any terms; and, having kept his word, the marriage was accordingly solemnized with great splendor². On the 2d of June, the same year, died Donna Leonara, queen of Arragon; and Don Jayme of Majorca, much about that time, made an irruption into Roussillon.

A D. 1374.

But new disturbances sprung up as the old ones were composed; Don Jayme dying, left all his rights to the duke of Anjou, in consideration of the services he had done him while living, on a presumption that his sister Donna Isabella would do the like, which she did; and this duke prepared to assert his claim by force of arms. In Sardinia things grew more desperate than ever; the judge of Arborea had defeated count Doria, and conquered all the island, except the town of Cagliari, which he besieged, while his son blocked up the place by sea; the governor being brought so low, as to dispose every thing for setting the place on fire, and making his escape in a few light vessels, if not relieved by a certain day^a. The king found means to extricate himself from both troubles; he engaged the king of Castile to enter into a negotiation with the duke of Anjou, who, having reckoned upon him as an ally, could not refuse him as a mediator. It happened that he had a small squadron in the harbour of Roses, when the ill news from Sardinia arrived, and, having embarked a few troops, he dispatched it thither immediately; for he judged, that, by surprising the enemy, he might save all, and, if that could not be done, the loss was but little enhanced. The event justified his reasoning; his fleet coming unexpectedly, defeated that of the malecontents, and relieved Cagliari; the judge of Arborea seeing his hopes dispelled, when on the point of being accomplished, fell sick, and died of grief^b. His son, through whose carelessness the fleet was worsted, had such strong passions, and such weak abilities, that he was able to do nothing. On the 25th of July, in the succeeding year, died Don Frederic, king of Sicily, leaving his only daugh-

Changes the face of affairs in Sardinia by a critical act of temerity.

A.D. 1376.

² Roderic. Tolet. de Rebus Hispan. Luc. Tudensis Chronicon. Abarca, Ferreras.

^b Zurita, Mar.

ter Donna Maria, the heiress of his dominions; substituting, in case of her demise, his natural son William, and, if he died without heirs, the royal family of Arragon ^c. Don Pedro immediately applied himself to pope Gregory the Eleventh, who, from Avignon, was returned to Rome, offering to do homage without delay; alleging, that the crown belonged immediately to him, because it could not descend to a woman. The pope contented himself with asking, how, in that case, his right arose? and took the young princess under his protection. However, this pope did not long survive his elevation. Don Pedro having engaged Don Raymond de Moncada, count of Aoste, he scaled the walls of the castle of Catanea, and carried off the young queen Donna Maria in the night ^d.

A.D. 1379.

*Remainder
of the reign
of Don Pe-
dro, and his
demise in
an advanc-
ed age.*

The king, being become for the third time a widower, the famous Donna Joanna, queen of Naples, imagined he would make no scruple of marrying her, with so rich a portion. Pedro was too wise a man to be caught with appearances, in a point that so much concerned his peace; and therefore he married Sybilla de Tortia, a widow lady of unexceptionable character, whom he caused to be crowned queen; a circumstance which so provoked Donna Joanna, that she adopted his competitor, the duke of Anjou, for her heir ^e. Next year, the inhabitants of the duchy of Athens and Patras threw off the yoke of the crown of Naples, and declared for the king of Arragon; a step the less strange, as they were, for the most part, descended from Catalans and Arragoneses ^f. The king Don Pedro formed a project of marrying his two grand-children, Don Martin, son of the infant Don Martin, and Donna Maria, queen of Sicily, whom, for that reason, he caused to be

A.D. 1383.

brought into Arragon. About this time, a new and extraordinary scene opened in the island of Sardinia, where the people, wearied with the tyranny of the young judge of Arborea, put him to death; supposing that this measure would have restored tranquility to their country, as his sister Leonora was married to count Doria. But Donna Leonora, a woman of great parts and a high spirit, took up arms against her king and her husband at once. The continual expences of the war in Sardinia raised first murmurs, and then troubles in Catalonia. Besides, the queen Donna Sybilla quarrelled with the heir apparent Don Juan, in which contest the king took part against

^c Mayerne; Turquet.
^e Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet.

^d Rainald, Baluz.

^e Abarca, Zurita, Ferreras.

his son, more especially after he became a widower, and refused to marry his niece the queen of Sicily; but, with some difficulty, the royal infant was prevailed upon not to take arms. These disorders lasted two or three years, till at length the king resolved to make himself master of the city of Tarragona, which had always belonged to the archbishop, and to accomplish this act of injustice he made use of arms; upon which the archbishop excommunicated him. The king soon after fell ill, and, having first given satisfaction to the church, so as to entitle him to the sacraments, he deceased on the 5th of January, 1386; in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and in the fiftieth of his reign. He was surnamed Don Pedro the Ceremonious, from that pomp and punctuality which he observed in all transactions of government. He was, in many respects, the wisest, but in many more the worst king that ever sat upon this throne; and though he was better obeyed, he was much less beloved, than any of his predecessors. He was buried in the monastery of Poblette, and though his subjects durst scarce shew their satisfaction, they were very well pleased with his death ^g.

Don Juan succeeded his father in the throne, and, at the time of his demise, was himself dangerously ill in his palace at Gironne; his mother-in-law, the queen Donna Sybilla, being thoroughly sensible on what terms she stood with the successor, made her escape, the day before the old king's death, with her brother Don Bernard de Fortia. However, the Catalans, who hated that princess, pursued her so closely, that she had no remedy, but to take shelter with her brother in his castle, which was presently invested by the infant Don Martin, and the count de Cardona; as they had no succours to expect, the queen and her brother thought it prudent not to augment the fury of their enemies by an obstinate resistance; so that they quickly surrendered, and were carried by the infant Don Martin to Barcelona, and there strictly confined ^h. The king treated Donna Sybilla with a degree of severity that was by no means natural to him; the crime of which she was accused was fascinating or bewitching the deceased king, and this upon the evidence of a Jew, who acknowledged he had some hand in these practices. Several persons were put to the question, and, being found guilty upon their own confession, suffered death; and, in all

*Don Juan
I. succeeds
his father,
and deals
severely
with his
mother-in-
law Donna
Sybilla.*

^g Hieronymi Blancæ, Zurita, Ferreras.
xiana, Mayerne, Turquet.

^h Abarca, Ma-
probability,

probability, the queen herself would have been in danger; if, very happily for her, the pope had not sent cardinal de Luna, with the title of his legate, who interceded for that princess, her brother Don Bernard, and the count de Paillars; upon which the king pardoned them as to their lives, but he deprived the queen-dowager of her jointure, which he bestowed on his own queen Donna Violante. On the 8th of March, the king confirmed the privileges of the Catalans, declared void all his father's grants to the prejudice of the crown, and appointed the viscount of Rocaberti, governor of the countries he held in Greece ⁱ. The count of Ampurias, who, in the quarrel between this prince and his father, had been stripped of his territories for adhering to the former, was no sooner informed of his accession than he returned home, and took possession of them; which step, at first, the king took extremely ill, as if it had been in contempt of his authority; but in a little time, and upon better information, he restored him to his favour, and cancelled all that had been done to his prejudice in the former reign ^k.

A.D. 1387.

His court distinguished by cultivating music, dancing, poetry, and other diversions.

The famous John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, upon his return from that expedition, of which we have given an account in a former section, thought he had some reason to take offence at the conduct of the king of Arragon; he sent therefore the archbishop of Bourdeaux to demand a sum of money from that prince, as an equivalent for not furnishing him with a certain number of horse every campaign, as by his treaty with the crown of England he was bound to do. The king answered, that the troops were always ready, and as they were never demanded, he did not think himself obliged to pay any such sum of money; the prelate, however, replied in such rude terms, that the king caused him to be arrested; upon which, the duke his master ravaged the territories of Arragon; but in a little time, these differences were appeased ^l. In Sardinia, the king granted all the estates of her father to Donna Leonora de Arborea, a grant which restored peace in that island, and procured the new viceroy, Don Simon Perez de Arenas, a quiet administration. At this time there was a schism in the church; but the king was prevailed upon to acknowledge pope Clement the Seventh, who resided at Avignon, and thither he went to do him homage for the island of Sardinia. The character

A.D. 1388.

ⁱ Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Ferreras.
^k Zurita, Mayerne, Turquet. ^l Abarca, Barnes's History of Edward III. Ferreras.

of Don Juan was certainly that of a mild and merciful prince; but he was too uxorious, and the queen Donna Violante much too fond of pleasures; her favourite Donna Carazza Villaragut had, for that age, a very refined taste in poetry and music, and she was so delighted with works of that kind, that she prevailed upon the king and queen not only to entertain poets, but to erect schools and academies for the improvement of this kind of poetry. The nobility of Arragon were so little pleased with the new turn taken at court, that they expostulated very roughly with the king, and were even on the point of taking up arms. The queen and Donna Carazza had also their party. However, in an assembly of the states, held at Monçon, that lady was banished, and these new-fashioned foreign diversions were prohibited under very severe penalties.

A.D. 1389.

The count de Armagnac sent his brother, count Bernard, with a great body of troops, to make an irruption into Catalonia. The Spanish historians say, that they were English, French, Flemings, and, in short, a mixture of all nations; and that the cause of this irruption was a mere appetite to plunder; but from other historians we learn it was not so. The count de Armagnac pretended a right to the dominions of the crown of Majorca, and it was in support of this claim that his brother, at the head of all the soldiers of fortune he could collect, made this incursion in the midst of winter. In the spring he besieged Besalu, the garrison of which made an obstinate defence, and Don Bernard de Cabrera, having defeated part of the French forces, when the king marched with a numerous army to fight the rest, Don Bernard de Armagnac thought it expedient to retire rather than run the hazard of a battle. The king, at the beginning of his reign, had created his brother Don Martin, duke of Montalban, and his son was entitled Don Martin de Jerica, from the lordship of that name. The great point in view of both brothers was, that of marrying this young prince last mentioned to Donna Maria, queen of Sicily, their niece; and having with much difficulty obtained a dispensation from pope Clement the Seventh, dated in the month of November, it is presumed, that they were married towards the close of the year; at least it is certain, that, in the beginning of the next, a fleet of one hundred sail, and a considerable body of land forces were assembled, on

The count de Armagnac sets up a claim to the dominions of the crown of Majorca,

A.D. 1390.

A.D. 1391.

A.D. 1392.

*Death of
Don Juan,
which oc-
casions
great con-
fusions in
the king-
dom of
Arragon.*

the coast of Catalonia, under the command of Don Bernard de Cabrera, with whom embarked the duke of Mont-alban, and his son and daughter, the king and queen of Sicily, for that island. As new troubles broke out in Sardinia, the king of Arragon intended to have gone thither with a royal fleet and army; but the apprehension of the kingdom of Valentia's being invaded by the Moors, prevented his leaving his dominions, and obliged him to content himself with sending thither a numerous reinforcement, with a strong squadron^o. In the course of this year the infanta Donna Violante was married to Lewis duke of Anjou, and the infanta Donna Joanna to Matthew, count of Foix, the former being the king's daughter by the reigning queen, as the latter was by his former consort^p. To strengthen the present harmony subsisting between the two crowns, and to prevent disputes on that head, the limits between the kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon were settled by the express command and conjunct authority of both princes^q. A precaution which had afterwards a very good effect.

A.D. 1393.

Next year the king renewed his preparations for passing into Sardinia, where things were in greater confusion than ever; but either want of money, or his own indolence, hindered him a second time, though he knew that his brother, his nephew, and his niece, were besieged in the fortrefs of Catanea by the malecontents of Sicily, and he had given them the strongest assurances that, as soon as the affairs of Sardinia were redressed, he would infallibly come to their assistance^r. But Don Bernard de Cabrera, considering that his family had been raised by the crown, mortgaged all his lands for a large sum of money, and therewith equipped a strong squadron, by the timely arrival of which under his command, their Sicilian majesties were saved from imprisonment at least, if not from death^s. Upon the decease of pope Clement the Seventh, the cardinals of his faction at Avignon elected the famous Peter de Luna, of one of the noblest families in Arragon, who assumed the name of Benedict the Thirteenth, and gave immediate notice of his accession to the papal throne to all Christian princes, and more especially to the kings of Castile and Arragon^t. The concerns of Don Juan remained in great disorder, the count de Armagnac conti-

A.D. 1394.

^o Zurita. Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet.
Blancæ, Abarca. ^q Ferreras.
Zurita, Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet.

^p Hieronymi
^r Abarca, Mariana,
^t Rainald, Baluz.

ning to make incursions into Roussillon, to which he pretended a right, the troubles in Sardinia increasing, and the war in Sicily being still kept on foot. The king, who was a mild and good-natured prince, easily persuaded into wrong measures, but as easily set right, and who is celebrated by the historians of Arragon for a quality not common in kings, that of hearing reproofs patiently, and esteeming and preferring those from whom they came, left public affairs, in a great measure, to the queen Donna Violante, a princess of great spirit, much given to intrigue; while he chiefly amused himself with the pleasures of the table, the conversation of his nobility, and the sports of the field. As he was hunting he unluckily fell from his horse, frightened, as some writers say, by the sudden appearance of a monstrous she-wolf, of which fall he died, on the 19th of May, 1395, in the ninth year of his reign, and the forty-fifth of his life, leaving behind him two daughters, married to two French princes, as we have before mentioned; his brother, the duke of Montalban, being at this time in Sicily^u.

The sudden and unexpected death of the king occasioned great consternation and trouble. The queen-dowager, Donna Violante, probably with a view of gaining the regency, gave out that she was with child. Matthew, count of Foix, claimed the crown for his wife, the eldest daughter of the deceased monarch; but Donna Maria de Luna, duchess of Montalban, asserted the rights of her husband with equal spirit and success; and, in the month of July, the states of Arragon, Valentia, and Catalonia, declared Don Martin, pursuant to the testimony of the deceased king, the sole heir of his dominions, and confirmed the queen in the exercise of the administration^w. She made no scruple of putting guards upon the dowager to prevent any imposture, and withdrew them immediately upon that princess's declaring she was not with child. She granted safe-conducts to the ministers sent by the count de Foix to the states of Arragon and Catalonia, and gave that prince a copy of the clause relating to the succession in Don Juan's will. She took equal pains to avoid a war by a negotiation, and to provide for it, if it was not to be avoided, which fell out to be the case. The count and countess de Foix passed the Pyrenees, and fell

The succession secured to Don Martin, duke of Mont-alban, by the spirit and address of his consort.

^u Hieronymi Blancæ Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet.
^w Zurita, Ferreras.

with a considerable body of troops into the territories of Arragon, assuming the title of king and queen, and made themselves masters of the town of Balbastro, notwithstanding a very gallant resistance, and flattered themselves with the hopes of becoming possessors of that kingdom by force of arms. They were quickly convinced of their error by the steady defence of the citadel of Balbastro, into which the principal persons, amongst those who had defended the town, retired. Their army quickly found themselves invaded by famine: they no sooner sent out parties in order to obtain a supply of provisions, than they were surrounded and cut to pieces. At length, having no other resource, they retired into Navarre, so miserably harassed in their retreat, that their army was become little more than an escorte *.

A.D. 1395

Don Martin settles his son's affairs in Sicily, and makes a tour to Avignon before his return.

The king Don Martin received the news of his accession, and a considerable reinforcement of troops by a strong squadron, which the queen had dispatched ^v. He did not, however, immediately embark for his hereditary dominions, but employed some time in settling the affairs of his son. This task, however, took up so many months, that it was the middle of December in the next year before he was ready to embark. He judged it convenient, to take Sardinia in his way, where he settled every thing to the people's satisfaction, and provided with very strong garrisons some places that had been conquered in the island of Corsica. He then proceeded to the coast of France, and landing in Provence, went to Avignon to confer with pope Benedict, to whom he did homage for the kingdoms of Sardinia and Corsica. Having regulated several points of consequence with him, he re embarked on board his squadron, and continued his voyage to Barcelona, where he arrived on the 26th day June ^z. On the 28th, he declared the count and countess of Foix traitors, and confiscated all their estates. He went afterwards to Saragossa, confirmed all the rights and liberties of the people, and, before the close of the year, sent powerful succours both to Sardinia and Sicily.

A.D. 1397

Caresse the states in such a manner as to draw from them larger supplies than any of his predecessors.

In the month of April, in the succeeding year, he held an assembly of the states at Saragossa, in which he expressed his gratitude for their zeal and duty in his absence, and expatiated on this subject in so happy a manner,

* Zurita, Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet.

^v Indices Rerum

^{ab} Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum.

^z Rainald, Baluz, Abarca,

Mariana.

that

that they assured him he had nothing to do, but to acquaint them with any thing that might be still wanting to the prosperity of his affairs, and he should find they would act with the same spirit. He then desired they would acknowledge his son, the king of Sicily, for his successor, upon condition that kingdom should be annexed to the crown of Arragon; to which request they consented: they likewise granted him the sum of one hundred and thirty thousand crowns to pay his debts, and an annual revenue of thirty thousand crowns in the nature of a civil list^a. The count de Foix made a new attempt, in the autumn, to penetrate into Arragon, but without effect, and deceased, not long after, without issue^b. The corsairs of Barbary, having disturbed the commerce of his subjects, Don Martin fitted out a strong fleet to chastise them, and afterwards sent a squadron to the assistance of pope Benedict; which, however, being harrassed by contrary winds, returned without performing any thing. In the mean time, pope Boniface, provoked by his attachment to his competitor, bestowed the kingdoms of Sardinia and Sicily on Don Artal de Alagon, count de Molineto, provided he could find any way to get possession^c.

A.D. 1398.

Don Martin, in the ensuing spring, prevailed upon the French to raise the siege of Avignon, upon a promise, that Benedict should renounce his right to the papacy, if his competitor would also resign his pretensions. On the 13th of April, the king was solemnly crowned in the cathedral of Saragossa, and, on the 20th of the same month, the feast of St. George, the patron of the kingdom, the queen was also crowned with like pomp and splendor. Archambaud de Grailly, who had succeeded the count de Foix by marrying his sister, offered to renounce his pretensions to the crown of Arragon for a small county, which the king granted him with very good will. He sent, the same year, a fleet of seventy sail to the assistance of his son in Sicily, who, by the help of these timely succours, put an end to all the troubles in that island. The duke of Anjou, having demanded Donna Violante, the king's niece, with her fortune of one hundred and sixty thousand crowns, the king sent both that and the princess, upon her renouncing all title to the succession. The next

Wisely compromised the dispute with the representative of the count de Foix.

A.D. 1400.

^a Zurita, Abarca, Mariana, Ferreras. ^b Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Mayerne, Turquet. ^c Rainald.

A.D. 1401.

year was fatal to the royal family in Sicily, where, early in the spring, Don Pedro, the only son of their majesties, deceased^d; and, on the 27th of May following, his mother Donna Maria, who by her will bequeathed the kingdom to her husband, who was also the heir by descent^e. As he was in the flower of his age, many marriages were proposed for him; but by the advice of the king his father, he preferred the infanta Donna Blanca of Navarre, and that princess was sent to him, on board a fleet commanded by Don Bernard de Cabrera, in the month of September following, where she was received with all possible demonstrations of joy and affection^f. But he still continued in the pursuit of irregular pleasures.

A.D. 1402.

*The king's
unexpected
death with-
out heirs
occasions an
interreg-
num.*

Donna Joanna, the king's niece, widow of the count de Foix, who had formerly given him so much trouble, was exceedingly desirous of passing the rest of her days in her own country, and upon her signifying this desire to Don Martin, he very readily assented, assigned her the palace of Valentia, and a revenue of three thousand crowns a year. He endeavoured by the like acts of condescension to pacify the troubles in Sardinia, where the nobility were continually caballing against each other, and altogether against the royal authority. The case was very much the same in the kingdom of Arragon, where, though all the lords, professed great duty for the king, yet from an affectation of power and independency, they were continually embarked in factions and quarrels against each other. The young king of Sicily, giving too much ear to some bad counsellors, the king his father sent for him, and he came accordingly to Barcelona; but could not be prevailed on to remain long there, alleging, that his own dominions would suffer greatly by his absence, and, therefore, in the autumn of the same year, he returned to Sicily. The next year was fatal to the old queen-dowager Donna Sybilla, and to the queen consort Donna Maria, whose death was equally lamented by the king her husband, and by his subjects. The factions in Valentia were now become to the full as troublesome as those in the kingdom of Arragon; in consequence of which, Don Raymond Boyle, governor of the capital, was assassinated coming out of his palace, which murder the king caused to be enquired into so closely, that most of those, who were any way concerned in it, came to be

^d Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ gestarum, rerar.
^f Abarca, Mariana.

^e Zurita, Fer-
discovered,

discovered, and, as they deserved, put to death: his brother, who was not altogether innocent, escaped with the loss of his right hand^s. The island of Sicily being torn with civil dissensions, and the lords, in the king of Arragon's interest, having signified the distress they were in to the king of Sicily, he immediately determined to go to their relief. He did so; and, not long after his arrival, he gained a glorious victory, which might have restored that country's quiet, if the victor had not been vanquished by his passion: for, being extremely captivated with a young woman, whom he saw there, he abandoned himself, in such a manner, to his lust, that being seized with a fever, he died on the 27th of June^b. The king his father, who was now become his heir, finding that great troubles were like to arise in his dominions about the succession, endeavoured to prevent it by marrying. He accordingly espoused Donna Margareta de Prades, who was of the royal house of Castile; and this match is supposed to have hastened his death, which happened on the last day of May, 1410^d, when he had just entered the sixteenth year of his reign.

We are now arrived at an interregnum, for, upon the demise of this prince, the states assumed the supreme authority in the kingdoms of Arragon and Valentia, and in the principality of Catalonia, till it should be determined by them to whom the crown of right belonged. It is to be observed, that notwithstanding they were united under one sovereign, yet these three states remained perfectly independent, and to these were now added the kingdoms of Majorca, Sardinia, and Sicily. There had been many competitors for the succession in the life of Don Martin; a circumstance which laid him under great difficulties. Amongst these the count of Urgel was the most troublesome, and therefore he twice appointed him vicar-general of his dominions; an office which was very satisfactory to the count, who judged that it made him known to the people in the light of presumptive heir. The king saw it in the same light, but had quite another meaning; for he knew that the nobility of Arragon would consider it as an invasion of their privileges, and impute it not at all to his judgment, but to the count's ambition, in which hope he was not at all disappointed. The true scheme of the king was, in case he had no children by his last wife, to settle the crown on his grandson Don Frederic, the natural son

The disputes about the succession begun in the days of Don Martin revived on his decease.

^s Zurita. ^b Abarca, Ferreras. Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet.

^d Hieronymi Blancæ,

of the king of Sicily ; which project of his he could never bring in any degree to bear, for the lawyers opposed it unanimously as inconsistent with the constitution, injurious to the remains of the royal family, and prejudicial to the people. The lawyers had a great ascendancy in this country, and were superstitiously devoted to their ancient form of government.

Their kings, tho' not elected, were always confirmed by the people, and sworn to the laws.

In Arragon, those who had estates, which, generally speaking, they had acquired by their swords, were styled originally *los ricos hombres*, that is literally, *rich men*, or *men of property*; that is, as the lawyers of this country express themselves in plain terms, barons; for they say, that whatever titles of honour were afterwards introduced, as flowing from the king's will and pleasure, yet the right of sitting amongst the states did not arise from their being dukes, marquises, or counts, but inherent to them as barons; and they give us a list of eleven or twelve old families, who were the original *ricos hombres*, or barons of Arragon. In process of time they came to be distinguished into the greater and lesser nobility. The former were those, who, by the favour of the crown, were advanced to superior titles of honour; the latter, such as retained only their ancient dignity: the prelates likewise sat in that assembly, and the deputies from the great cities. In this assembly of states laws were made for the government of the whole realm, and to see those laws put in execution; and to prevent any subject, of what rank soever, from being denied the benefit of them, against the oppression of any other subject, or even of the king himself; they had a magistrate, who was the head of justice, whom they styled, *el justitia de Arragon*, or *chief justice of Arragon*, to whom appeals might be made from the king; who might control the king if he acted against the law, and who was not accountable for any thing he did in the discharge of his office, to the king, but to the states.

High office of chief justice of Arragon defined and described.

The historians of Arragon affirm, and there is good reason to believe, that this office was as ancient as their monarchy; but, however, the history of these chief justices rises no higher than to the taking of Saragossa from the Moors. It is said, that at the inauguration of their kings, the chief justice sat on a high tribunal in his robes, with his head covered; the king then came before him, and kneeling down bare-headed, swore to maintain their privileges, and to govern according to law. Upon which proclamation was made, on the part of the assembly, in these words: "*Noş que valemos tanto como vos os haze-*
mos

mos nuestro rey y segnor con tal que guardeis nuestros fueros y libertades, si no, no:’ *We, who are as good as you, have taken you for our king and lord, so long as you respect our laws and liberties, and no longer.* It is said, that the king Don Pedro the First, by great art and management, and by the promise of other privileges less dishonourable to the crown, and as advantageous to the people, procured this form to be abolished by the states; and, it is added, that having the parchment in one of his hands, which contained the law, he drew his dagger, and wounding the hand in which he held it, suffered the blood to stream over it, adding these words: “*Ley de poder eligir rey los vassallos sangre de rey, avia de costar.*” *A law that gives vassals a power to elect their king, ought to be effaced with a king’s blood;* from whence he was surnamed Don Pedro el Punal, or *Peter with the dagger.* As a sufficient evidence of the truth of this incident, they shew his statue with a dagger in one hand and the parchment in the other, in the Casa de la Deputation, or *house of commons* at Barcelona.

This story, though written by very grave authors, and taken upon trust by strangers, has very much the air of a fable; and so indeed it is, but not without a ground of truth. The king was not Don Pedro the First, but Don Pedro the Fourth, surnamed the Ceremonious; and the law was not of election, but that for establishing the union, which he cancelled in an assembly of the states, by cutting it in pieces with his dagger; in doing which he struck his finger by accident, and when he saw the blood run, he said to the states, “*A law that has occasioned so much bloodshed, is happily wiped out of your statutes by the blood of a king.*” It is however certain, that though Arragon never was an elective kingdom, yet the confirmation of the states to the next heir’s title was held so necessary, that it was very ill taken, if he either did any regal act, or even assumed the title before he had sworn to preserve their privileges; and in consequence of that oath, was recognized and acknowledged for their sovereign by the states. They likewise took upon themselves to examine and decide when any disputes arose in relation to the succession, as we shall see at large in another section; but, at present, it is requisite to give the reader, as we have undertaken, the histories of all the monarchies in Spain, as well as that of Majorca, under the few kings it had, in which the reader will find various circumstances worthy of his notice, which do not occur in any of the accounts published in our history.

A common mistake on this subject stated and rectified.

S E C T. XI.

The History of the Kingdom of Mijorca, from the time of its being conquered by James I. of Arragon, to its Re-union, or rather second Conquest, by Don Pedro IV. after which it remained annexed to that Crown.

The conquest of the Balears projected many years before it was accomplished.

THE possession of the island of Majorca, and of those that depended upon it, was an object, which those who were masters of the continent of Spain had ever in view. The Moors made themselves masters of them, and lost them again; but, pursuing their designs some time after, they had better fortune, and had been actually sovereigns here upwards of four centuries, when Don Jayme of Arragon formed the design of augmenting his own dominions, by the junction of these islands^a. It must not, however, be understood, that, in all this space of time, they had received no interruption; for the contrary is true. Several of the counts of Barcelona provoked, in some measure, by the depredations committed on their coasts by the Majorcan Moors, who had a natural turn to piracy, but chiefly out of a desire to make conquests, or, at least, reprisals by descents of a like nature, had given them a great deal of trouble, ruined some of their best towns upon the coast, and enriched themselves and their troops by the plunder^b. But, as in most of these expeditions, they were indebted to the Pisans, the Genoese, or some other of the Italian states, for the best part of the naval force that was employed in them, we thought it expedient, as well to avoid swelling this part of our work, as to prevent repetitions, to refer those expeditions, till, in the natural course of our undertaking we shall come to treat of the history of these maritime states. Here, therefore, the reader is to expect only what regards the royal house of Arragon. Some historians have suggested, that when Don Pedro the Second went into Italy, and was crowned by the pope, one great motive of his voyage was to negotiate a league with some of the republics beforementioned, in order, to facilitate a design he had form-

^a Historia general del Reyno Balearico por Juan Dameto.

^b Francisco Diago Historia de los Antiguos Contes de Barcelona. Barcelona 1603. folio. Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet.

ed of invading and reducing those islands^c; but, as we have shewn in the history of his reign, he quickly found himself so much embarrassed, with a variety of troublesome affairs, that he left his project to be accomplished by some of his successors, under a probable expectation they would see the facility and expediency of this conquest for the security of the rest of their territories.

As a sufficient account of these islands have been given in other parts of this work, a particular description will not be expected of them here; and yet there are some things that, for the better understanding of the history, it is absolutely necessary to take notice of. With respect to Majorca, or, as the Spaniards call it, Mallorca^d. All writers agree, that there is hardly any country more indebted to nature; for though one part of it be mountainous, and consequently not very fertile, yet the greater part of it is flat, and of so excellent a soil, that it produces prodigious quantities of corn, as good in its kind as any in Europe; oil, wine, and salt in vast abundance; cattle and sheep sufficient for the inhabitants: but deer, rabbits, and wild fowl in such plenty, as might alone have furnished their subsistence^e. The air is very pure and temperate, and by its situation the heat in summer is so qualified by the breezes, that it is not only the largest and most plentiful, but by much the pleasantest of all the islands. These and other advantages were, at this juncture, improved to the utmost; for the Moors, ever industrious and indefatigable, surrounded the whole coast with fortifications, that is, with a kind of towers, and lines between them; cultivated every spot that was not either rock or sand; carried on a great trade with their countrymen in Spain and Africa, and had no less than fifteen great towns, whereas there are not now above three; neither was it at all difficult for the Moorish sovereign to bring into the field an army much superior in number to the inhabitants that are now upon it, taking in all ranks, sexes, and ages. In a word, at this time the king of Majorca was very powerful, and his subjects rich and happy, through the exercise of trade with their own countrymen, and piracy upon the Christians^f.

We need not wonder that, in circumstances like these, both prince and people were less prudent than if they had

Majorca, or Mallorca, in much better condition then, than since or now.

^c Historia general del Reyno Balearico, por Juan Dameto.

^d Diago, Zurita, Mariana.

^e Dameto, Colmenares Abbe

d'Vayrac.

^f Colmenares, Du Bois, Abbe d'Vayrac.

*A very
slight cause
occasions
the war,
by which
the island
was con-
quered.*

been in a worse situation. They had, upon some slight pretences, taken two vessels belonging to Barcelona, one of which was very richly laden. Of this depredation the people of that city complained to their king Don Jayme, who was at that time but a very young man, much perplexed in his affairs, and who, in all probability, had never thought of attacking these islands; at least nothing of this kind appears from his conduct; for, upon this complaint, he sent an ambassador to the king of Majorca to demand satisfaction, which might have been easily given; for the Catalans were in reality the aggressors, and had taken a tartane of Majorca, though of no great value^g. But very unfortunately for the Moorish prince, he enquired of a Genoese master of a ship, what strength the king of Arragon had; who answered, that he was a poor pitiful prince, who, with the whole force of his dominions, was not able to take the castle of Peniscola^h. When the ambassador had his audience, the Moorish king put on an affected ignorance, and asked him, who his master was? "My master, answered the ambassador, is Don Jayme, king of Arragon, the son of Don Pedro, who, at the memorable battle of Tolosa, cut many thousands of your nation to piecesⁱ." This unexpected answer so ruffled the Moor, that he was on the point of seizing him; who gave it; and though upon reflection he did not take that step, yet he answered him with contempt, and ordered him to quit his dominions without delay.

*Don Jayme
I. makes an
oath not to
desist till
the Moors
were at his
mercy.*

At his return, the ambassador found his master at Barcelona, to whom he gave a very particular account of the reception he had met with, which so irritated Don Jayme, that he swore, at the altar, never to desist from his enterprise against Majorca, till he had the king by the beard, that is, till he had his enemies at his mercy. There is however great probability, that there was a mixture of policy with his resentment. He was desirous of being at the head of an army entirely under his own command, and of accustoming his nobility to obey him; his cousin Don Nugno Sanchez was very desirous of having the command, but the king would not indulge him in that particular^k. The nobility of Arragon, and even the pope's legate, advised him to turn his arms rather against Valentia, but

^g Dameto, Zurita, Mariana,
por Bern. Desclot.
arico.
Marianz.

^h Historia du Cataluna,
ⁱ Historia general del Reyno Bale-
^k Historia de Cataluna, por Bern. Desclo. Abarca,

he was determined. The nobles of Catalonia furnished him with all he could desire: and in what condition they were able to do this, will appear from the quota furnished by the archbishop of Tarragona; which was, a thousand marks in gold, five hundred quarters of wheat, one hundred men at arms, and one thousand foot, to be paid by him till the conquest of the island¹. His whole force consisted of fifteen hundred horse, and about fifteen thousand foot, of whom about a thousand were mere adventurers from France, Provence, Gascony, &c. He put to sea on Wednesday the first of September, and, after two or three storms, arrived upon the coasts of Majorca, where the Moors opposed his landing, which was not effected without much trouble and some loss; at length, however, his whole army was disembarked, and a resolution taken to give the enemy battle: for which the soldiers were so eager, that they would have marched without their officers^m, who only laboured to restrain them till they were recovered a little from their fatigues: however, their impetuosity prevailed.

A.D. 1229.

The Moorish king lay with an army of five thousand horse, and thirty-seven thousand foot, in the best position he could take for covering his capital. Don Jayme attacked him with such fury, and his troops, who were all old soldiers, and accustomed to the field, were so much better disciplined than the Moors, that, notwithstanding their superiority in point of numbers, they were quickly routed, and so totally, that the king could hardly collect eight thousand men, with whom he threw himself into the city of Majorca after it was investedⁿ. While Don Jayme remained before the place, several of the Moorish lords submitted to him; so that he was master of a great part of the island before the city was reduced. At length, the Moorish king offered to pay the expences of the war; and that being rejected, he proposed to surrender the place, and to pay a certain sum of money for every head, to preserve them from being put to death, which the king would have accepted, but the army refused, and demanded to be led to the assault. The Moors, absolutely desperate, defended themselves with great obstinacy, and some of the lords proposed to the king renewing the negotiation; which Don Jayme refused, adding, "it is too late to be

The king of Majorca and his subjects absolutely reduced within four months.

¹ Historia general del Reyno Balearico. Zurita. ^m Dameto, Mayerne, Turquet. ⁿ Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum.

wife, now we must conquer or die." At length, however, the place was taken^o. The Moorish king endeavoured to conceal himself, but was taken, and presented to Don Jayme, as was soon after his son, a youth of thirteen years old. The king of Arragon, in discharge of his oath, took his enemy by the beard, but spoke to him kindly, and promised him good usage; as for the son, he was instructed in the Christian religion, baptized by the name of Don Jayme, and the king gave him a very large estate in Valentia, where his posterity were still remaining in the days of Mariana^p. The city was taken, and the island of Majorca consequently reduced, on the last day of the year; so that this expedition was executed in about four months, and the king enabled to comply with the promises he had made to his nobility, and to those of other nations, who, under the specious pretences of religion and honour, were in reality cutting out settlements for themselves with their swords^q.

*Citadel of
Majorca
demolished,
and a ca-
thedral and
palace
erected in
its room.*

It was some years before the Moors were brought thoroughly into subjection; for, having a natural abhorrence to their new masters, as Catalans as well as Christians, they were perpetually taking up arms; and when they could no longer keep the field, they sheltered themselves in the natural fortresses of the island, being vast caves in the sides of high mountains, the entrances of which were easily defended. By degrees however they were brought under; but it is judged that, by the slaughter during the war, these insurrections, and the numbers that quitted their country, and retired into the kingdom of Granada, or to Barbary, this island lost one half of her inhabitants. The king, Don Jayme, however, greatly augmented and adorned the city of Majorca, or Palma, which, at the time it fell into his hands, was built chiefly on the sea coast, and on the side of the mountain; upon the summit of which stood a citadel that protected, but, at the same time, commanded the town^r. This the king caused to be demolished, and instead of it built a most beautiful cathedral, a noble palace, and other public edifices, which were also well defended by towers, and other fortifications: the port he secured by a most noble mole, and established an excellent form of government, which, by

^o Historia general del Rey Balearico. Abarca, Ferreras.
^p Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Historia general de Hispania, lib. xvi. Mayerne Tarquet.
^q Dameto, Zurita, Mariana, Ferreras.
^r Dameto, Colmenares, Abt d'Vayrac.

rendering the inhabitants easy and happy, drew thither continual supplies of people from all parts². In 1232, he made a second voyage thither, when he summoned the Moors, who inhabited Minorca, to submit, and, by a stratagem of lighting many fires every night along the opposite coast, terrified them to such a degree, with the apprehensions of an invasion, that he brought them to submit, and to pay him an annual tribute¹. In 1256, he established his son Don Jayme in the possession of these dominions, which, however, gave great offence to the heir apparent of the crown of Arragon, and notwithstanding, as we have shewn in the former section, that he had formerly bestowed them upon the infant Don Pedro of Portugal, as an equivalent for the countries which he had acquired by marriage³.

Don Jayme the Second, upon the demise of his father, succeeded to the throne, in virtue of his father's will, who bestowed upon him, not only the kingdom of Majorca, and all its dependencies, but likewise the lordship of Montpellier, the counties of Roussillon, Collioure, Constant, Cerdagne, Valespir, and all that he possessed in France. Don Pedro the Third of Arragon, though he was by no means satisfied with this disposition, yet confirmed it, upon condition that his brother should do him homage, and hold his territories as a feudatory to the crown of Arragon. Don Jayme was so offended with this restriction, and with his not having the kingdom of Valentia, which he surmised his father likewise intended him, that when Philip the Hardy, in pursuance of the pope's invitation, determined to invade Arragon, he not only granted him a free passage through his territories, but also assisted him in his war against his brother⁴. This conduct so provoked that monarch, that he sent his son, the infant Don Alonso, with a potent fleet and army against his uncle, whom he deposed; the people willingly submitted, on account of the heavy taxes that had been imposed upon them by Don Jayme; he likewise reduced the island of Yvica, and at the same time projected the entire reduction of Minorca⁵. This conquest after a vigorous war of two years, he gloriously effected, by the capitulation of

A.D. 1276.

Don Jayme II. succeeds in the kingdom of Majorca, in virtue of his father's will.

A.D. 1278.

A.D. 1283.

A.D. 1285.

¹ Historia general del Reyno Balearico, Les Delices de l'Espagne, tom. iv. p. 577.

² Hieronymi Blanca Arragonensis Rerum Commentarii.

³ Zurita, Abarca, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras.

⁴ Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Abarca, Ferreras.

⁵ Zurita, Mariana, Armstrong's History of Minorca.

Port Mahon, and of St. Agatha. The Moors consented to give him a certain sum of money for every head to obtain leave to retire into Barbary, and such as had it not to give, remained and submitted to such terms as he thought fit to prescribe.

A.D. 1287.

*Deprived
of his domi-
nions by
one ne-
phew, and
restored to
them by
another.*

The king Don Jayme, who still retained Roussillon and the rest of the countries he held in France, gave his nephew continual disturbance; but this served only to encrease the weight of his misfortunes, as all his attempts proved unsuccessful. However, by the interposition of the pope and the king of France, Don Alonso, upon the conclusion of a general peace, consented to restore his uncle to all his dominions, to be held, as before, by homage rendered to the crown of Arragon; but before this

A.D. 1291.

treaty could be fully accomplished Don Alonso died. His brother and successor Don Jayme the Second was content that things should remain in this situation, as appears by a large and full treaty, which is still extant, concluded between them at Argilers, in which the former styles himself Don Jayme, by the grace of God, king of Arragon, Valentia, and Murcia, and count of Barcelona; and the latter king of the Majorcas, that is, Majorca and the islands dependant upon it, count of Roussillon and Cerdagne, and lord of Montpellier; in which they stipulate a perpetual friendship for themselves and successors against all powers whatever, subject to the homage formerly stipulated. By virtue of this treaty^y, Don Jayme found himself once more in peaceable possession of his dominions, and so continued to the time of his decease, which

A.D. 1311.

was about four years after. By his queen Esclaronda, who was the daughter of the count de Foix, he had Don Jayme, who became a monk, Don Sancho, who succeeded him, Don Ferdinand, and Don Philip, who was an ecclesiastic. He had also a daughter Donna Sancha. The body of this prince Don Jayme the Second lies interred in the cathedral church of Majorca^z.

*Don San-
cho suc-
ceeds his
father, and
governs his
dominions
peaceably.*

Don Sancho did homage to Philip the Fair, king of France, on the eighth of December the same year, for the lordship of Montpellier^a; and, on the seventh of July in the year following, he likewise did homage to Don Jayme the Second^b. He had afterwards some dispute with the crown of France about his lordship of Montpel-

^y Historia de Malorca, por Vincente Mut, lib. iv. Zurita, Ferreras.

^z Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

^a Histoire de

Languedoc.

^b Vincente Mut, Zurita, Ferreras,

lier, which the king of Arragon pretended was to be held of him, independent of the crown of France; and some proceedings there were upon this matter before the parliament of Paris; but Philip the Long took the cognizance of this difference from them, and adjusted it with the two kings. Don Sancho was a prince of a mild and equitable disposition, content with his small dominions, which he governed in peace to the time of his demise, which happened on the fourth of September, one thousand three hundred twenty-four, without issue ^c.

Don Jayme king of Arragon immediately seized his dominions, but the Spanish historians, and even those of the kingdom of Arragon, who very highly commend his justice in restoring them, do not give us any clear account upon what motives the original measure was taken. It seems in the will of Don Jayme the Conqueror, king both of Arragon and Majorca, there was a substitution of the royal house of Arragon, in case the heirs male should fail of Don Jayme, king of Majorca; and some of the courtiers of the king of Arragon persuaded him, that Don Sancho dying without heirs, he had a just title to the kingdom under that will ^d. But the infant Don Philip of Majorca represented to him, that Don Jayme the Second left four sons, of whom the late king Don Sancho was not the eldest, but succeeded in the place of his brother, who had renounced the world; that his next brother Don Ferdinand, who should have been his successor, was indeed dead, but had left by his wife Donna Izabella, heirs of the Morea, a son Don Jayme, who was indisputably the heir male of his grandfather, and consequently entitled, under that will, to the kingdom of Majorca, and its dependencies ^e.

The king of Arragon disposed to seize these territories upon his dying without issue.

The infant Don Philip of Majorca did homage, as guardian of his nephew, and in his name, on the first of October, 1327, to Don Jayme the Second of Arragon, and by the interest of the same Don Philip a marriage was concluded, for the young king, with the infanta Donna Constantia of Arragon, daughter to Don Alonso, heir apparent of that kingdom. On the twenty-fifth of October, 1328, Don Jayme of Majorca did homage in person to king Alonso the Fourth of Arragon his father-in-law, when the treaties between the two crowns were renewed:

Don Jayme III. does homage to the king of Arragon, and espouses his daughter Donna Constantia.

^c Indices ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Mariana.
^d Historia de Mallorca, por Vincente Mut. Histoire de Languedoc.
^e Mariana.

by which it was settled, that they should assist each other with their whole force; and in case any differences arose between them, the points in controversy were to be determined by the pope^f.

Obtains supplies by means of the pope for the war against the Moors, and employs them very successfully.

The very situation of Don Jayme's dominions, and their tenure, exposed him to continual difficulties, in which the making one or two false steps was more than sufficient to throw himself and his subjects into the utmost distress. The circumstances of the times were very critical; and though he was a prince of high courage, and did not want abilities, yet his having a spirit superior to his fortune, and his affecting an independency which was altogether impracticable, drew him quickly into perplexities, and, in the end, proved his ruin^g. He was summoned by Philip de Valois, king of France, to do homage for his lordship of Montpellier, and all its dependencies; and being, at that time, embarrassed by the Moors, he accordingly did homage on the twenty-eighth of April, though unwillingly, as conceiving there was none due^h. He applied the same year to pope John the Twenty-second for two favours; the first was, a power to levy the tenths upon the clergy; the second, a permission to send three ships with rich merchandize to Alexandria; for without the licence of the pope, in those days, Christian princes could not suffer their subjects to have any correspondence with the infidels; and both were to enable him to defend his territories from the invasions of the Moors, and to clear the adjacent seas from their corsairsⁱ. The pope granted him both his requests, provided that the ships he sent to Alexandria did not furnish the infidels with arms or military stores; and, in all probability, these supplies enabled him to protect his subjects, and to repress the pirates of Barbary.

Breaks with the French king, and is dispossessed of all the countries held from him.

Upon the demise of his father-in-law Don Alonso, he was summoned by Don Pedro the Fourth to do him homage, which he accordingly did, on the seventeenth of July, in the states of Catalonia, assembled at Barcelona. The very next year, his dispute broke out with the king of France, who, being jealous of his intention to shake off his sovereignty, had expressly forbid him to celebrate jousts or tournaments in any of the places he held from him, without his permission first obtained; in contempt

^f Mayerne, Turquet.
riana, Ferreras.
No. xvi.

^g Vincente Mut, Rainald, Mariana, Ferreras.
^h Tresor. des Chart de Montpellier,

ⁱ Rainald Historia de Malorca.

of which the king of Majorca caused them to be performed^k. He was encouraged to this step, by the dangerous war in which Philip de Valois was then engaged with the crown of England, and the hopes he had of being supported both by that monarch, and the king of Arragon^l. There was at this time an alliance brought upon the carpet between the crowns of England, Arragon, and Majorca, against France. There is, however, great reason to believe, that Don Pedro was never at all in earnest, but took these steps purely with a view to amuse and mislead this unhappy prince to his destruction^m. Don Pedro was a great politician, and having formed in his own mind a resolution to deprive him of all that he held, as a feudatory to the crown of Arragon, he judged that nothing could be more conducive to the effectual execution of this scheme than to leave the French king at full liberty to strip them of all the lordships for which he had done him homage. He executed this perfidious plan with such dexterity and address, as deceived the unhappy Don Jayme to the lastⁿ. This prince by letters, ambassadors, and personal applications, repeated his demands of succours, in virtue of the treaties subsisting between them, and on the score of his being his vassal; which succours, though Don Pedro, under various specious pretences, declined, yet he would never deny, but flattered him with hopes, till the French, by dint of superior power, deprived Don Jayme of the lordship of Montpellier, and all its dependencies, and then, as at the proper season, he disclosed his meaning plainly.

A.D. 1340.

A.D. 1341.

He caused the king of Majorca to be summoned, to answer to certain points of accusation that were brought against him, nor would he grant him any delay, though he desired it; and in his own memoirs, Don Pedro acknowledges, that all the answers he gave to his applications were, let him appear before the states; let him justify his own conduct, and I will grant his request. As to two of the three points of the charge, implying, that he had entered into a war with the king of France without his consent, and that he had imposed very heavy taxes upon his subjects, they were plainly things with which he had nothing to do; for, by the treaty subsisting between them, they were reciprocally obliged to assist each other if at-

Cruelty and injustice of Don Pedro in his usage of the king of Majorca.

^k Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum, Historia de Languedoc. ^l Ferreras. ^m Rymer's Fœdera, tom. v. ⁿ Historia de Malorca. Abarca.

tacked; but the king of Majorca was not at all restrained from making war or peace as he thought fit: and, in respect to taxes, it is in express words declared, the king of Majorca might impose and levy them as he thought proper^o. In regard to the third article, of coining money at Perpignan, the king of Majorca was not so excusable, as there was a clause which prohibited this practice in the treaties; and as it appeared to have been the intention of the original donor Don Jayme the First of Arragon, that no money should be current in the five counties, bestowed upon this prince's grandfather, but what was coined at Barcelona^p. We are assured by Mariana, that, besides the heads beforementioned, there were other accusations of a far more heinous nature, such as his having formed a design to assassinate the king of Arragon at their last interview, which, out of humanity and the affection due from a sister, the queen Donna Constantia had discovered to Don Pedro; and that he had offered to enter into an alliance against him, not only with the king of France, but with the king of Morocco^q. These, very probably, were only thrown in to make up weight, or to deter the king from appearing, if he had any such design; since, if they had been founded in truth, they would have been far better reasons for depriving him of his dominions than those which were assigned.

*From
whom he
takes that
island, and
all its de-
pendencies
by an in-
vasion.*

The king of Majorca, being no longer at a loss to know his brother-in-law's intentions, published a manifesto, in which he loaded him with reproaches, declared war against him, and took the best measures he could for his own defence. The historian of Majorca asserts, that, in the midst of his misfortunes, his subjects were never wanting in their fidelity, and produces a public instrument of their's, by which they approve and justify that monarch's conduct; which is directly contrary to what the historians of Arragon assert, as to their being universally discontented, and of their inviting Don Pedro to deliver them^r. But perhaps truth in this case may lie on both sides, that is, the people of Majorca, while the king was in possession, might publish, or might allow him to publish, whatever he thought proper, in their names, for his justification, and yet be secretly discontented, and entertain a private correspondence with his enemies. At least there seems to

^o Vincente Mut, Zurita, Abarca.

^q Historia general de Espana, lib. xvi.

^p Historia de Malor-

^r Zurita,

Abarca, Fe reras.

be some cause to suspect this was the case, from the slender resistance that Don Pedro met with, when he soon after invaded Majorca*. It also appears, that there must have been great errors in government, from the condition that things were then in; for, notwithstanding the extremity to which he was reduced, and the necessity he was under of raising the whole force of his dominions, Don Jayme was not able to bring into the field above a third part of the troops which the Moorish king assembled, when in the like circumstances; neither did these make any considerable defence: but all things fell immediately into such confusion, that the king, though personally brave, was constrained to seek his safety in flight, and that with a few followers only. Don Pedro made a public entry into Majorca with loud acclamations of the people, and left a viceroy behind him, with a small number of forces, who held these territories afterwards without trouble or dispute on the part of the people, whom the historians of Arragon therefore affirm to have been very well pleased with this revolution†.

We have in a former section related how this war ended. The unfortunate king of Majorca being despoiled of all his dominions, and even of his regal title; by his enemy, retired to the count de Foix, to preserve his life and liberty, with a power at least of meditating revenge: he sent a long memorial, containing the history of the injuries that had been done him, to pope Clement the Sixth, who interposed with Don Pedro, in regard especially to the king's family, exhorting him to restore at least his queen and his children, if not his dominions; upon which Don Pedro suffered his sister Donna Constantia to go to her husband". It is also certain, that he solicited the king of France to interpose in his behalf, who treated him very unkindly, though he gave him fair words and fine promises. Don Jayme, to shew, that though his fortune might, yet his spirits never could, be broken, embarked a small body of troops on board on few gallies, and attempted to make a descent on Majorca; but was repulsed in such a manner, that he was obliged to retire; upon which, taking advantage of the troubles in Arragon, he made an irruption into Roussillon, and recovered the county of Conflans; but Don Pedro marching against him from

A.D. 1345.

The king of France seizes what small territories the king of Majorca had left.

* Mayerne, Turquet, Mariana.
Arragonizæ Regibus Gestarum.

† Indices Rerum ab
Zurita, Abarca, Histoire de
Languedoc.

Barcelona, a warm action happened between them at Vinea, in which Don Jayme was routed, and forced to retire^w. He made afterwards an attempt upon Puycedan with the like ill fortune; and at this time the king of France seized his lordship of Montpellier, alleging, that, as he was his vassal, and had made these incursions without his leave, he had forfeited that feigniory.

A.D. 1347.

*Buys the
lordship of
Montpel-
lier, and
thereby sa-
crifices that
unhappy
monarch.*

All his disappointments served only to sharpen the courage of Don Jayme, who having, by a deed, signed the eighteenth of April, at Avignon, and assented to by both his children, sold the lordship of Montpellier, and all its dependencies, to the king of France, for one hundred and twenty thousand golden crowns, he spent the whole in raising an army for the recovery of Majorca^x. He was as unfortunate in his last as in his former expeditions; for, before he could have time for taking any proper measures for augmenting his forces, by the accession of all who were yet well affected to him in Majorca, he was attacked by Gilbert de St. Ellas, viceroy of that island, and by Rimbao de Corbera, viceroy of Sardinia, at the head of eight hundred horse and twenty thousand foot, all old troops; upon which his new-raised forces immediately fled, but those he brought with him remaining firm, the king fought it out to the last, and, refusing quarter, was pierced through the body with a lance^y. This action happened on Sunday the 25th of October. In him ended the monarchs of Majorca, of the royal house of Arragon^z. By his first wife, Donna Constantia, he had two children, Don Jayme and Donna Isabella; by his second, Donna Yoland, or Donna Violante, whom he married after her decease, which happened in the year 1346, it does not appear that he had any issue.

The son of this monarch Don Jayme the Younger, the Italian writers stile sometimes James of Majorca, from his pretensions to that kingdom, and sometimes James of Tarracona, from the place of his birth; but he was better known afterwards by the more illustrious title of king of Naples.

We cannot fix the time of this prince's birth, though we can come pretty near it, for, in the ratification of his

^w Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Hist. de Languedoc. Ferreras.

^x Histoire de Languedoc. Zurita, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras.

^y Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Abarca.

^z Mut, Hieronymi Blancæ.

father's sale of the lordship of Montpellier, dated May 15th, 1349, he is said to be more than eleven, and under fourteen^a. In October the same year he was taken prisoner in Majorca, and sent by his uncle to be kept at Barcelona, where on the first of May, having found means to furnish himself with false keys and with arms, he opened the prison-doors, and having slain Nicholas Rovira, who was his keeper, he made his escape to Avignon, where he was protected and caressed by the pope^b. As he was at this time esteemed one of the handsomest and most accomplished princes of the age, queen Joan of Naples, who was just become a widow, offered him her person and her crown, which, in his circumstances, he thought it prudent to accept^c. His sister Donna Isabella likewise espoused John the marquis of Montserrat, and received from her uncle Don Pedro a considerable fortune; but, notwithstanding this seeming turn of fortune, he was still so possessed with a desire to recover his hereditary dominions, and found so many circumstances that imbittered his stay at Naples, even with the regal title, that, four years afterwards, we find him at Bourdeaux, soliciting Edward the Black Prince to assist him in the recovery at least of his dominions on that side the Pyrenees. The prince promised him assistance, provided he would attend him in his expedition into Spain; whither he attended him accordingly. In his passage, he must have marched through his uncle's territories, who could not be very well pleased to see a young monarch, whom contrary to the ties of nature, and the law of nations, he had so much injured.

A D. 1362.

Next summer, when the prince of Wales retired out of Castile, he was constrained to leave Don Jayme sick behind him, and he fell into the hands of Don Henry, king of Castile, a prince, who, having felt the weight of misfortunes himself, had a generous concern for the distresses of others. He treated the king of Naples kindly, but kept him prisoner till he had made his peace with Arragon, when Don Pedro was in hopes that he would either have delivered him up, or have confined him closer; but the king Don Henry suffered him soon after to go to Avignon, where, by the assistance of the duke of Anjou, he for four years together alarmed the king of Arragon at

A.D. 1366.

Marries queen Joan of Naples, and dies, endeavouring to recover his dominions.

^a Histoire de Languedoc. ^b Indices Rerum ab Arragoniæ Regibus Gestarum. Abarca, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras. ^c Zurita, Pandolfo Collenuccio, Historia del Reyno de Napoli, Brantome.

least, and at length assembled an army, with which he advanced as far as the Pegro, where, finding himself distressed for provisions, and his forces in danger of being surrounded, he sent to Don Henry of Castile for assistance and advice^d. That great and gallant monarch gave him both; he offered him his court for an asylum, and he promised to persuade or to compel the king of Arragon to grant him an establishment; and, to deliver him out of his present perplexity, he ordered a corps of troops to advance to Soria, where the king of Majorca joined them. But unhappy princes are commonly deceived by the glimmerings of good fortune; Don Jayme fatigued himself so much in this forced march, that, being seized by a malignant fever, he died in a few days, and was buried in the monastery of St. Francis, in the town of Soria^e. The reader will judge what credit is due to those historians who so positively assert, that his consort queen Joan of Naples, having found him in bed with a mistress, caused him to be beheaded^f.

A.D. 1375.

His sister, Donna Isabella, conveys her pretensions to the duke of Anjou.

His sister Donna Isabella, widow of John marquis of Montserrat, was with him at that time, and, by the interposition of the king of Castile, a convention was concluded with the king of Arragon, by which a sum of money was given her for the pay of the troops that were about her, and they were allowed to retire without molestation. It was this princess, who, after the decease of her brother, confirmed the donation, which, in conjunction with him, she had made of all their rights to the duke of Anjou, to whom they were under very great obligations. If Don Jayme the Younger had lived to be an old man, he would have been the indubitable heir of his persecutor's dominions, and consequently have prevented that struggle amongst the competitors for this succession, of which it will be our business to give the reader a comprehensive view at the beginning of the next section.

^d Zurita, Abarca, Ferreras.

quet.
Dictionary.

^e Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet.

^f See the article of Joan Queen of Naples, in Bayle's

S E C T. XII.

The History of the Kingdom of Arragon, continued from the Interregnum on the Death of Don Martin, to the Union of the Crowns of Castile and Arragon, under their Catholic Majesties Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella.

THERE never was a country left in a more miserable or exposed condition than this of Arragon, by the death of the king Don Martin, who in the last months of his life, employed all his thoughts to preserve himself in ease and safety, without being obliged to declare in favour of any of the pretenders, who he knew could none of them be settled in the legal and quiet possession of the throne, but by the authority of the states. Upon his demise, the whole system fell to pieces; Arragon, Valentia, Catalonia, became at once sovereign states, without any other union than their mutual regard for their own interests, which were better consulted by their having but one sovereign, than any other way; and yet separately they were in great confusion. In Arragon the factions of the Lunas and the Urreas, the former espousing the party of the count de Urgel, while the latter, who were his declared enemies, scattered discord through every corner of the kingdom^a. Valentia was harrassed by the dissensions of the Contellas and the Villaraguedes^b. In Catalonia the states immediately assembled, and assumed the government. In Majorca, and the islands dependent upon it, all things were perfectly quiet, through the care of Don Roger de Moncada^c. Sardinia was torn to pieces by a civil war; and in Sicily, Don Bernard de Cabrera, count of Modica, pursued a very suspicious conduct, seizing by force most of the considerable places, fitting out several squadrons to cruise upon the coasts, though he pretended to aim at nothing more than preserving the island for the crown of Arragon; and yet he besieged the queen dowager Donna Blanca, who had assumed the title and power of queen regent for the same purpose^d.

A succinct view of the state of Arragon, Catalonia, and Valentia, during the inter-regnum.

^a Zurita, Annales Arragon. Abarca, Mayerne, Turquet.

^b Hieronymi Blancæ Comment.

por Vincente Mut.

de Cerdena, Zurita.

^c Historia de Malorca

^d Historia general de la Isla y Reyno

*The states
appoint a
standing
committee
to regulate
the ensuing
election.*

Pope Benedict the Thirteenth, who was himself an Arragonian, used all imaginable methods to quiet the minds of the people in that kingdom, and in Valentia, to very little purpose. Some indeed of the nobility in both kingdoms, like good patriots, acted to the utmost of their power for the welfare of the state. They procured a truce to be made in Arragon for three years, by which all private quarrels were to be suspended during that time. This was in general so well observed, that, when Don Antonia de Luna demanded a conference with the archbishop of Saragossa, Don Garcia Fernandez de Heredia, he made no scruple of consenting to it, though he was the head of the opposite faction. When they met, Don Antonio picked a quarrel with the archbishop, and, having posted an ambuscade conveniently for that purpose, attacked and murdered him, an outrage which threw the whole kingdom into a flame, and alarmed not a little the parliament, then sitting at Callatayud: to oppose this, Don Antonia and his party called another assembly, to which they gave that title in another place¹. In Valentia the malecontents had recourse to the same method of meeting again in another place, and of calling themselves a parliament. In both kingdoms they were forced to have recourse to the infant Don Ferdinand of Castile, to desire that he would send troops to protect them, and to give a proper degree of weight to the only legal authority subsisting in either country^m. In Catalonia things went somewhat better; the parliament at Tortosa were generally and cheerfully obeyed; so that when the count d'Urgel advanced with a body of troops, the parliament sent him such a spirited message, that he thought fit to retire. They likewise desired the infant Don Ferdinand to withdraw his forces; but he excused himself, as they were not sent to awe but to protect the parliaments of Arragon and Valentiaⁿ. These three assemblies, having conferred by deputations, agreed to lose no time in the election, or rather declaration, of a king, for which purpose they appointed a standing committee to take the preparatory measures, who were to meet and hold their deliberations at

A.D. 1411. Alcaniz. The forces, however, of the count de Urgel committed so many disorders, that the parliaments were obliged to have recourse to the infant of Castile for troops sufficient to keep the passages to that place clear and safe;

¹ Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. Zurita, Ferreras.
Mariana.

^m Hernando Perez de Guzman.

ⁿ Abarca,
then,

then, the deputies from all three parliaments resorted thither, and began to enter in earnest upon the business ° entrusted to their care.

After mature deliberation, it was resolved, that this great affair should be decided by nine judges, men of experience and integrity; that each state should chuse three; and that they should meet at Caspé, a place standing very conveniently on the frontiers of Valentia and Catalonia, belonging to the knights Templars; but upon this occasion, by the permission of the pope, there was put into it a very strong garrison, composed of Arragonefe and Catalan troops, for that time the two parliaments of Valentia kept that country so divided, that it was not easy to distinguish where the authority lay. Orders were given to the several competitors to send their agents to Caspé^p. In the mean time the civil war which had begun the year before in Valentia, rose to such a height, that the viceroy, who was intirely in the interest of the count of Urgel, endeavoured to join a body of his forces with all the strength of his own party; but, being intercepted by the chiefs of the opposite faction, an action ensued on the 27th of January, in which there were five thousand slain, and, amongst them, the viceroy and the grand bailiff^q. There happened at this time an incident which manifests the true spirit of party; the victors obliged Don Arnold de Bellera, the son of the viceroy, to carry his father's head upon a pole, when they made their public entry into Morviedo. This melancholy affair, however, was attended with some good events, for the people in general began to see the folly of keeping up these divisions, and consequently the rage of parties gradually declined; insomuch that, towards the end of March, the two parliaments united, and sent a detachment of troops to make their quota of the garrison of the fortrefs of Caspé, into which, without any dispute, they were received, and all things disposed for the reception of this august tribunal, to whom the preservation of so many kingdoms was consigned.

The judges were not chosen with the same facility. The Catalans and Valentians especially were much divided. At length, understanding that the Arragonefe had referred the choice of their commissaries to the viceroy

At length nine judges are chosen, to determine the title of the claimants.

Who, by the consent of all the parliaments, are named by the viceroy and chief justice of Arragon

° Mayerne, Turquet.

^p Zurita, Rainald, Ferreras. ^q Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. Perez de Guzman, Mayerne, Turquet.

and

and chief justice, they all agreed to leave the nomination of their judges to the same persons; who declared for the kingdom of Arragon, Don Dominic Ram, bishop of Huesca, Don Francisco de Aranda, Don Berenger de Bardagi; for the principality of Catalonia, Don Pedro Zaggariga, archbishop of Terragona, Don Gulermo de Balteca, and Don Bernard de Galbes; for the kingdom of Valentia, Don Boniface de Ferrier, general of the Chartreux, his brother Vincent de Ferrier, of the orders of frier preachers, a man of a vehement disposition, but who, by his probity and disinterestedness, had acquired the general reputation of a saint, and Don Gines de Rabaza, the most celebrated civil lawyer in the kingdom. But when the judges were all arrived, had taken their respective seats, and, in their first sessions, appointed tutors to maintain the cause of Don Frederic, count de Luna, on account of his youth, the last of these judges, Don Ginez de Rabaza, either lost, or pretended to lose, his senses; upon which his family had leave to withdraw him; and Pedro Bertran, another very eminent lawyer, was appointed in his stead.

Who the claimants were, and how their pretensions were founded.

There were in the whole seven competitors, five princes and two princesses. The first of these was Don Alonso, duke of Gandia, the son of the infant Don Pedro, and the grandson of Don Jayme II. king of Arragon, so that he was a direct male descendant of the royal house of Arragon. This prince died while the controversy was depending: upon which Don Juan count de Prades, his brother, claimed in preference to his nephew the count of Denia, son to the deceased duke. But the judges determined clearly that the right of the duke of Gandia, in case he had any right, accrued at the death of the king Don Martin; and that therefore the title, whatever it was, must be in his son, who was his representative, and not his brother. Don Jayme count de Urgel was the next claimant, as being the son of Don Pedro count de Urgel, and the grandson of the infant Don Jayme, who was so created by his father Don Alonso the Fourth, the eldest son and successor of Don Jayme the Second; so that it was alleged he had clearly a better right than the duke of Gandia, since, Don Jayme the Second being their common ancestor, he claimed under the eldest, whereas the duke claimed under the youngest son. The third was

† Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. Zurita. Annal. Arragon, Ferreras.

Don Frederic count de Luna, natural son to Don Martin the Younger, king of Sicily, who would have been indisputably the heir of all these dominions, but for the flaw in his birth; to help which, three legitimations were insisted upon, that of his father, that of his grandfather, and that of the pope. However, upon examining these legitimations, it appeared, that the intention of them all was to qualify him for the succession in Sicily; and, in the act of legitimation by his grandfather, it was declared, in express terms, that he should not be qualified or intitled thereby to succeed to the crowns of Arragon, Valentia, Sardinia, Corsica, and Majorca, or to the counties of Barcelona, Roussillon, and Cerdogne. Lewis of Anjou, duke of Calabria, and count de Guise, claimed in right of his mother, Donna Violante, queen of Naples, daughter to Don Juan, the elder brother of Don Martin. That queen herself also claimed, as did Donna Isabella, the wife of the count of Urgel, as being the daughter of Don Pedro the Fourth. Lastly, the infant Don Ferdinand of Castile set forth his title, being the son of Donna Leonora, the eldest sister of the two last kings.

The advocates for his title seem to have been much abler men than those intrusted with the concerns of the other candidates; they set out with overturning all the old doctrine about the right of heirs female, which, in a military state, as that of Arragon originally was, they affirmed could never subsist, because an heir female is a perpetual minor, and therefore incapable of being at the head of such a state. As to the case of Petronilla, upon which all the other lawyers had stumbled, they removed it by a very subtle, but at the same time by a very plausible distinction, asserting, that she neither had, nor was ever understood to have by the states, any right in her own person at all. Her husband Don Raymond never assumed the title of king, but administered the government till there should be one; upon his demise, she indeed assumed the title of queen, but it was only that there might be the greater formality in her act, by which she devolved the government upon her son Don Alonso, though an infant, who was the true heir of his grandfather Don Ramiro, surnamed the Monk. Upon this reasoning, the true rule of succession was laid down to be, that heirs female were excluded; but that the heirs male descended from females were capable of the succession, in proportion as they stood nearest in alliance to the last deceased prince, and were capable of administering the government; upon which

Method in which the Castilian lawyers stated Don Ferdinand's title to the crown.

which principle the king of Castile had declined making any claim, though the representative of his father, who had a right prior to the infant Don Ferdinand, because he was at this time himself a minor. With regard to the duke of Calabria, the states had already precluded him, by setting aside his mother, as well as the countess of Foix her sister, when they called the late king Don Martin to the throne; so that, upon the whole, the infant Don Ferdinand was the nearest heir male to the last reigning prince, capable of the succession*. However this had been received in Arragon, the Castilian lawyers had so fully possessed Don Ferdinand with an opinion of this title, that he would have asserted it by force.

The majority of the judges decree in his favour, and the rest also acquiesce.

The judges spent thirty days in hearing with great candour and calmness whatever could be offered to them in behalf of any of the candidates: then, they assembled, and debated the matter among themselves. Vincente Ferrer was the first who spoke, and declared for the infant Don Ferdinand; five more of the judges concurred with him: the archbishop of Tarragona gave his voice for the count de Urgel, Gulermo de Balseca was of his opinion; as for Pedro Bertran, he declined giving any opinion at all, as not having had time to acquaint himself with their several pretensions. But as the three judges for Arragon, two of the Valentians, and one Catalan, were of the same opinion, they proceeded to draw up the decree, which was made public on the twenty-eighth of June, in the church of Caspé, with all the marks of solemnity that could be devised, and with great acclamations of the people, who were glad to see the interregnum at an end, and the ancient form of government restored†. It cannot, however, be supposed, that, in a case of this nature, any decree could be made that would please all parties. St. Vincent, as they stiled him, plainly perceived that the count of Urgel had still a very strong party, who complained openly that they called an infant of Castile to the succession of the crown of Arragon, in prejudice to the noble race of the counts of Barcelona, from whom the count was indisputably descended; and therefore he endeavoured to dispel their melancholy by a sermon that he

* Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. Zurita, Anual. Arragon. Hernando Perez de Guzman, Mariana, Ferreras. † Chroniques de Espanya, que trahta dels Reys, dels Gots, y dels Comtes de Barcelona, e Reys de Arago, compilada per Miguel Carbonel, Barcel. 1536. Mayerne, Turquet.

preached the next day with great emphasis, but which, notwithstanding, made very little impression on those who were of another opinion, though it very strongly confirmed such as were in the same sentiments, as, in disputes of this nature, is commonly the case. The Castilian writers, when they tell us, that, exclusive of his pretensions, Don Ferdinand was, of all the candidates, the prince who, for his personal great qualities, best deserved the throne, cast a shade of calumny upon the judges, whom they labour to commend, for they were not appointed to consider of conveniencies, but to decide a point of right * by the known laws of their country.

Upon the closest inspection, however, it will probably appear to the candid and impartial reader, that they really discharged their consciences; though it must be allowed that they cast the succession upon a prince, who, if they had been free to make their choice, would have best deserved their suffrages. Those who were in the interest of the count of Urgel magnified his descent in a direct line from the counts of Barcelona, without distinguishing that this could only give him a title to the principality of Catalonia, and this too upon a supposition that heirs male, descending from females, were not capable of inheriting. But the principality of Catalonia and the kingdom of Valentia being united to the crown of Arragon by the assent of the states, the rule of succession to that crown was to be the rule of succession in the present case; and as the counts of Barcelona had acquired the regal dignity by their descent from a female, there was no reason that another family should not acquire it in the same way, which was the unanimous sense of the commissioners of Arragon. Besides, the count of Urgel had taken up arms, had committed hostilities against his country, and was looked upon to be the author of the most execrable assassination of the archbishop of Saragossa. We may add, that, to prevent the miseries of a civil war, the parliaments of Arragon, Valentia, and Catalonia, who had an unquestionable right of declaring and confirming the titles of their kings, had in the most solemn manner devolved their power upon this occasion on the nine judges, and were therefore bound to follow their decree, it being made upon mature deliberation, freely, and without any suspicion of corruption *.

Good reason to believe they decided according to their consciences in this affair.

* Hernando Perez de Guzman, Ferreras. Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. Zurita, Abarca, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet.

A.D. 1412.

He is acknowledged, proclaimed, accepts the crown, and comes immediately to take possession of it.

Each of the parliaments sent deputies to the new king Don Ferdinand, to acknowledge his title, and to do him homage; which having accepted, he confirmed all who were in employment, and, in the beginning of August, he held an assembly of the states, received their oaths of fidelity to himself and to his son the infant Don Alonso, his heir apparent; the kingdoms of Sardinia and Sicily likewise submitted, and the Genoese concluded a truce with him for five years. He went afterwards to Barcelona, where he held the states of Catalonia, confirmed their privileges, and received their oaths*. The count of Urgel, however, could not be persuaded to acquiesce, or to pay his homage, though the king Don Ferdinand assured him of his favour, of indemnity for what was passed, and, as he had no children but daughters, he offered to marry the eldest of them to his son the infant Don Henry, and to create him duke of Montalban. The count for some time kept the treaty on foot, and seemed to act as if he intended a submission, demanding an immense sum of money for the expences he had been at in pursuing his title to the crown, and other favours. Don Ferdinand would listen to nothing of that kind, but insisted on his doing homage first; in which case he said he was willing to do for the count whatever he could reasonably desire; and with this conduct the states of Catalonia were perfectly satisfied. But the count was privately taking other measures, in conjunction with Don Antonio de Luna, and other busy spirits, who were bent upon raising a civil war†, which turned not at all to their advantage, though it gave much disturbance to the new king, and brought many and great miseries upon their country.

Reduces the count de Urgel, who had taken up arms against him.

At the opening of the next year it appeared, that the count de Urgel had entered into an alliance with the duke of Clarence, had promised him his eldest daughter in marriage, and expected great succours from him out of Gascony; he took likewise every other measure that he thought capable of exciting domestic troubles, or bringing in foreign invaders. He prevailed so far as to excite some tumults in Saragossa, and to bring a multitude of adventurers of all nations, to try what was to be got by plundering Arragon and Catalonia; but he was not capable of bringing a strength into the field sufficient to look the king in the face. On the contrary, he was

* Hieronymi Blancæ Comment. Ferreras.
Carbonel.

† Miguel

obliged to take shelter in the fortrefs of Balaquer, a very strong place, on the north side of the Segro, commanding a very pleasant and fertile country, which he defended with great courage and spirit for a long time, in hopes of being succoured by his foreign allies^z. The king, Don Ferdinand, commanded the siege in person, in which the duke of Gandia served with great courage and reputation, and at length the count of Urgel was compelled to surrender at discretion, and to go and throw himself at the feet of the king Don Ferdinand^a. The states of Catalonia, who at the beginning had declared him a traitor, passed sentence upon him of perpetual imprisonment; the king having absolutely promised him his life, they confiscated all his estate, and that of his mother, by whom he was principally encouraged to act as he did. The king sent the count to be kept in Castile, and ordered him to be treated with all possible lenity and respect^b.

A.D. 1413.

In the month of January, Don Ferdinand was crowned with great solemnity at Saragossa, where he created his eldest son prince of Gironne, and the infant Don Henry prince of Penafiel; gave audience to the ambassadors from the emperor, and most of the other crowned heads in Europe, and made several good laws. In the assembly of the states^c, the same year, he had an interview with pope Benedict the Thirteenth. A conspiracy was soon after discovered, by the mother of the count of Urgel, to poison the king; and by the assistance of foreign troops to raise her son to the throne. The king caused her with great secrecy to be arrested; in her custody letters were found from the king of Portugal, the duke of Clarence, and other princes who were acquainted with her intrigues. The king confined her and her daughter strictly, but would not proceed to extremities. He sent his son the infant Don Juan into Sicily, having signed the contract of marriage for him with the young queen of Naples, but that princess had married the count de la Marche, of the house of Bourbon, before his arrival. The Neapolitans were extremely piqued at the queen's conduct, and made the king of Arragon offers of taking up arms in favour of the young prince; but Don Ferdinand told them, he had

Is crowned with great solemnity at Saragossa, and is as well received at Arragon as possible.

A.D. 1414.

^z Hieronymi Blancæ Comment.

^a Zurita, Mariana,

Ferreras. ^b Annal. Arragon. Abarca, Hernando Perez de Guzman.

^c Miguel Carbonel, Zurita, Annal. Arragon, Mayerne, Turquet, Mariana.

kingdoms enough already, and that, considering the inconstancy of their queen, he thought his son had a good escape ^d.

A.D. 1415.

The states of Catalonia expostulate with him, on which he retires into Castile, and dies.

The countess of Urgel intending to send her daughters into France, the king brought the two eldest to court, and left the two youngest with her, upon a promise that she would not send them out of the kingdom^e. He had demanded of the states of Catalonia, a year before, a sum of money, to enable him to regulate the affairs of Sicily, which they were not inclined to grant; he made the same demand again this year at Barcelona, and was without ceremony refused; but was given to understand, that it was not out of disrespect to him, or for want of money, but to vindicate their privilege of refusing when they thought fit; which declaration the king took so extremely ill, that he went to make a tour into Castile, where, his health being before infirm, he died, on the second of April, when he had governed the kingdom of Arragon three years nine months and five days. He had by his consort Donna Leonora de Albuquerque five sons, Don Alonso, prince of Gironne, the infants Don Juan, Don Henry, Don Sancho, and Don Pedro; all of whom, except Don Sancho, survived him; and as many daughters. He was a prince of the most unblemished character that the age produced, of real piety, strict justice, and great moderation: the only fault his new subjects found with him was, that he loved his countrymen the Castilians too much, and had too many of them about his person.

A.D. 1416.

Don Alonso V. succeeds, and applies himself with great vigour to settle the government.

The prince of Gironne succeeded his father by the title of Alonso the Fifth, and found the first moments of his reign perplexed by the insolence of pope Benedict the Thirteenth, who, having amused his father with a promise of giving peace to the church by a resignation, was so much provoked at his renouncing obedience to him, and sending ambassadors to the council of Constance, as other Christian princes did, that he declared him a schismatic, and fallen from his regal dignity^f; notwithstanding which insolence, his partisans had the confidence to desire the king's leave to supply him with provisions in the fortress of Peniscola, where, without this indulgence, he must have perished. However, the king consented to their demand, without departing any farther from his fa-

^d Hieronymi Blancae Comment. Abarca, Ferreras.

Annal. Arragon. Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet.

^e Zurita, ^f Hieronymi Blancae Comment. Miguel Carbonel. Mayerne, Turquet, Rainald.

ther's measures^z. About the same time Don Antonio Luna involved a great many persons of quality in a very black design against the king's life, and for putting Don Jayme, count of Urgel, upon the throne; for the carrying on which scheme, he had amassed from the friends of the count a million of florins; but, when it was upon the point of being carried into execution, it was discovered. A list of all the nobility that had any share in it being put into the king's hands, he tore it without reading it, contenting himself with saying, that he would at least force them to acknowledge he had more regard for their lives than they for his. The wars in Sardinia and Corsica gave him great disturbance, so that at length he meditated an expedition in person; but he found difficulty in procuring supplies. The states of Catalonia sent deputies to expostulate with him on the keeping so many Castilians about him; but he told them, that he employed none of his Castilians in public affairs; and that he would not be dictated to as to the servants who were about his person. We have in another part of this work given an account of the share he had in the affairs of Castile, and therefore shall not mention them here. His brother the infant Don Juan, whom he had recalled in the beginning of his reign from Sicily, in the apprehension that mutinous people might have set him upon the throne, married about this time the queen dowager Donna Blanca, who was the heiress of Navarre, with the king's consent. Don Alonso of Arragon, having obtained, by the assistance of pope Martin the Fifth, a sufficient supply of money, executed his design of going in person to Sardinia, where he settled every thing to his own satisfaction, and obtained from the states of that island a free gift of one hundred thousand florins for the expences of his voyage, and to enable him to proceed to Sicily^h, where his presence was become absolutely necessary.

A D 1419.

While he was providing for this new expedition, Antonio Carracca applied to him on the behalf of queen Joan of Naples, against whom the pope, the duke of Anjou, and the constable Sforza, had entered into a confederacy to depose her, offering that she should adopt him for her son and heir, and give him immediately the duchy of Calabria, if he would assist her. The king,

Is adopted by queen Joan of Naples, and resolves to vindicate his title by force of arms,

^z Zurita, Annal. ana, Mayerne. Turquet.

^h Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Mari-

knowing that the duke of Anjou had entered into a treaty with the Genoese, accepted the proposal, and sent a stout body of troops to her relief, by whom the siege of Naples was raised; upon which the queen installed Don Alonso by proxy heir apparent of her kingdom, and duke of Calabriaⁱ. However, in his expedition against Corsica, the king of Arragon was not altogether so fortunate. The next year he went to Sicily, and, having assembled a great fleet and army, passed over to Naples, and made his entry into that city on the seventh of June, where he was very kindly received by the queen, who, notwithstanding, began to alter her sentiments in relation to the services done her by that prince, and to consider some way of revoking her adoption. The pope, in point of dissimulation, fell not at all short of this prince; for some writers say, that he confirmed the adoption of Don Alonso; but all agree, that he caused several places in the territories of Naples to be delivered up to him, as heir of the kingdom, at the very time he was carrying on intrigues against him^k. The king Don Alonso was in the mean time employed in reducing that part of the kingdom of Naples which still adhered to the duke of Anjou; and his success, which ought to have endeared him to the queen and her minister, served only to increase their hatred, from a persuasion that whatever augmented his power must lessen theirs^l. The plague being at Naples, the king and queen retired to Gaeta, where the latter carried on her intrigues with the pope, the duke of Milan, and even her competitor Lewis duke of Anjou; of all which though the king was not ignorant, he took no sort of notice; but, as soon as Naples was free from the plague, he marched back thither by land with his forces, having appointed a squadron of gallies to transport the queen, who, surmising on the sudden, that those gallies might have orders to carry her to Spain, absolutely refused to go on board, and with those who were about her, took shelter in the strong fortress of Capua; so that now the breach between the king and queen became public, though as yet there were no acts of hostility committed; on the contrary, both sides affected to give out, that their disputes were far from being irreconcilable; and that, upon a

ⁱ Miguel Carbonel, Albinus, Pontanus, Ferreras.
^l Hieronymi Blancæ Comment.

^k Raimald.

proper explanation, there was nothing more likely than that they should become good friends ^m.

The queen, coming to Naples, took up her lodgings in one of the castles, the king of Arragon residing in another, all exterior marks of civility being still kept up between them. At length the queen having entered into an alliance with the powers before-mentioned, and procured a promise from the pope, that he would cancel her adoption of the king of Arragon, and confirm that she was about to make of Lewis, duke of Anjou, she judged the shortest and surest method of bringing this new scheme to bear, was to remove the king of Arragon secretly; with which view she sent her high steward to invite him to a conference. Don Alonso, having intelligence of the design, caused that lord to be arrested, and set out immediately to go to the conference which the queen had proposed; but when he drew near the castle, they not only refused him admittance, but discharged such a flight of arrows as wounded his horse in several places, and killed some of the nobility who were about him; an outrage which so provoked him, that he attacked and besieged it, though to no purpose ⁿ. Thus, a civil war broke out in the very city of Naples, which lasted till the subjects of Don Alonso sent him such powerful assistance, that the queen was glad to escape, and leave him in possession of the capital; where he did not however remain long. Leaving his brother Don Pedro, who came with these succours, his viceroy, he embarked on board his fleet, in order to return to his hereditary dominions, and, in his passage, landed his troops, and made himself master of Marseilles. Though he suffered the place to be pillaged by his soldiers, yet he placed guards upon the churches, to protect the ladies who had taken refuge in them; and when, in return, they would have made him a valuable present out of the jewels which they had saved, he refused it, saying, that he revenged the injuries he had received as a prince, and did not go thither to plunder ^o. It is necessary to remark, that at this time the city of Marseilles was in possession of the house of Anjou.

Becomes master of the city, and constrains the queen to take shelter elsewhere.

A.D. 1413.

^m Miguel Carbonel, Albinus, Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Mariana, Ferreras.

ⁿ Pontanus, Miguel Carbonel, Facio,

Mariana. ^o Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Abarca, Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet.

*Returns in-
to his here-
ditary do-
minions,
without
abandoning
his claim
to Naples.*

One of the principal reasons of the king of Arragon's returning home was, to procure the liberty of his brother the infant Don Henry, whom Don Juan of Castile had very justly imprisoned for the disturbances he had created in that kingdom. While this affair was depending, the infant Don Juan of Arragon became king of Navarre by the death of Charles the Noble, and, by his interposition, prevented a war from breaking out between the crowns of Castile and Arragon, as well as

A.D. 1425.

procured the liberty of his brother Don Henry. But, notwithstanding this accommodation jealousies between these two monarchs continued, and even increased; insomuch that Don Alonso of Arragon apprehending that some advantage might be taken of the count de Urgel's remaining a prisoner in Castile, he caused him to be taken from thence by force, and carried to the castle of Xativa ^p. Upon the death of Benedict the Thirteenth, the king of Arragon protected Giles Munoz, who had assumed the title of pope in opposition to Martin the Fifth, whom he considered as his determined enemy; for which opposition this last-mentioned pope caused him to be cited at Rome, with an intent to form

A.D. 1427.

a process against him; but it being the interest of neither to come to extremities, matters were at length compromised between them, and the king promised to use his endeavours with the pretended pope to lay aside that title, which he afterwards did ^q. The misunderstandings with Castile still continuing, the last-mentioned monarch entered into intrigues with some powerful subjects, who were discontented with the king Don Alonso, and amongst these was Don Alonso de Arguillo, archbishop of Saragossa; but, the conspiracy being discovered, most of them were arrested: however, only one suffered decapitation; and this prelate, concerning whom there are many different reports, was never seen afterwards.

*The true
cause of his
resolving
to under-
take an-
other ex-
pedition in-
to Italy.*

The affairs of Don Alonso in Italy had declined from the time he left that country; and his brother the infant Don Pedro came in person to acquaint him how little hopes there were of retrieving them; which information, however, did not hinder the king from sending such succours as he was able to those who still adhered to his interest ^r. At

^p Hernando Perez de Guzman, Hieronymi Blancæ.
nald.

^r Miguel Carbonel, Æn. Sylv. Sand.

^q Rai-

last, when things were almost grown desperate, and the duke of Anjou was become master of the best part of the kingdom of Naples, Don Alonso was surpris'd by an application from queen Joan and her high steward: this last, on the part of the queen, represented to him, that she was very desirous of seeing him at Naples; and the high steward assured him, that he had a corps of six thousand horse and foot ready to join him as soon as his fleet should appear. The king sent a minister to Rome, to learn the pope's disposition; to whom Martin V. very frankly declared, that he would give the king all the assistance in his power; upon which Don Alonso began to think in earnest of another expedition; for undertaking which, he made vast preparations in the kingdom of Valentia. While he was thus employed, the pope died ^b, an event which gave him great uneasiness, but did not, however, entirely defeat his scheme, though he thought it prudent to give out that his armament was intended against the king of Tunis. When things were in proper order, the king appointed his consort regent of Catalonia, and gave his brother the king of Navarre the like authority in the kingdoms of Arragon and Valentia ^c. The reader, perhaps, will not be displeased, if we inform him, that, exclusive of the reasons assign'd in history, there was a private motive which induced this monarch to spend the remainder of his days in perpetual action and fatigue. He was one of the most graceful, as well as one of the most accomplished princes in Europe; and his queen Donna Maria of Castile was so jealous of him, that he found it impossible to live in peace. It is true that this was not without reason, since by one of the ladies of her court he had a son, Don Ferdinand; an intrigue which provoked the queen to such a degree, that she put the lady to death; and this incident affected Don Alonso so much, that he resolv'd upon this method of dissipating his cares ^d.

A.D. 1431.

The king's fleet consisted of nine sail of ships of war, twenty-six gallies, and a great number of transports. His first exploit was attacking the island of Gerbes, upon the coast of Africa, where, on the 1st of September, he gain'd a decisive victory by land over the troops of the king of Tunis, took his tent with great riches, and twenty-five pieces of artillery, and, having reduced the island, and

He carries it into execution, and at length resolves upon conquering Naples.

^b Rainald, Pontanus, Albinus. Abarca, Mariana, Ferreras.

^c Zurita, Annal. Arragon. ^d Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Ferreras.

left a garrison there, proceeded to Sicily^c. There he received an application from pope Eugenius IV. who was desirous that he should enter into a league with the Venetians and the Florentines. He offered to comply with his desire, provided he would grant him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, to which, however, the pontiff would not consent. However, in the winter the king made a new treaty with the queen of Naples, who promised to revoke all she had done in favour of the duke of Anjou, and to declare him her successor^f. The next year passed entirely in negotiations, as did also part of the following, during which Lewis duke of Anjou died; and not long after the queen of Naples, notwithstanding all her treaties, and all her professions, called his brother René to the succession, though he was at that time prisoner to the duke of Burgundy: however, he sent his consort Isabella, duchess of Anjou, to Naples, who, by the assistance of the pope, was received and treated as queen^g. In the meantime the queen of Arragon, who had sent the infants Don Pedro and Don Henry to prevail on the king to return into his own dominions, but without effect, at length engaged Don Juan, king of Navarre, to make a voyage to Sicily for the same purpose, not doubting that, upon his representations, the king his brother would return, and, from his own observations, be induced to remain.

Involves himself in a war with the duke of Milan, and the republic of Genoa, in which he is taken prisoner.

He found Don Alonso absolutely bent upon attempting once more the conquest of Naples, and, with a fleet and army ready for that purpose, the king of Navarre and the infant Don Henry embarked with him; but the infant Don Pedro was left to command in Sicily. The duke of Sessa, and some others of the king's party, made themselves masters of Capua, to which city the king and his brothers repaired. Having held a council of war with all the Neapolitan grandees in his interest, the siege of Gaeta was resolved on; and thither accordingly the king sailed with his fleet, with which he blocked up the place by sea^h. Two brave men, Otho Zopo and Francisco Spinola, commanded in Gaeta for the duke of Milan, and the republic of Genoa, who found themselves under the necessity of turning out women, children, and other useless mouths. These generals of the king of Arragon advised him to turn back, as the certain means of taking Gaeta quickly:

^c Abarca, Miguel Carbonel, Pontanus, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Albinus, Benedicti.

^f Hieronymi Blancæ Comment.

^g Felipe de Comines.

^h Albinus. Miguel Carbonel, Facio.

however, Don Alonso received, relieved, and dismissed them, with this memorable expression, that he had much rather lose any city in his dominions than the reputation of humanity^l. The Genoese sent a squadron of twelve men of war and three gallies, commanded by Blaife Acereto, chancellor of the republic, exceedingly well manned and provided, to relieve the place. The king, as soon as he knew their strength, sailed with fourteen ships of war, and eleven gallies, to meet and fight them. In three days he distinguished the Genoese fleet, and on Friday the 5th of August he engaged them. The chancellor Acereto brought only nine ships and three gallies into the line, giving orders to three of his stoutest ships to fall in upon any critical juncture, where they saw it necessary^k. The Genoese, being better seamen, and their ships in all respects better furnished, had the advantage, and the king's ship was, particularly, very roughly handled: however, he would have made a tolerable retreat, if the three great men of war had not unexpectedly borne down, and in a few minutes distressed him to such a degree, that the ship was sinking; upon which, to save those who were with him, he caused his flag to be struck to the duke of Milan. The vessels that were near him followed his example, and, except a single ship, the whole fleet was taken^l. This action lasted ten hours: there were about six hundred slain on the side of the king of Arragon, and about as many thousand taken prisoners, amongst whom were the kings of Arragon and Navarre, the infant Don Henry of Arragon, Don Juan de Soto Major, grand-master of the order of Alcantara, Don Diego Gomez de Sandoval, count de Castro, with his two sons Diego and Ferdinand, Don Ruy Diaz de Mendoca, surnamed the Bald, and the sons of Don Ruy Lopez de Avalos, with a multitude of other persons of distinction, Arragonese, Valencians, and Catalonians; the prince of Tarento, duke of Sessa, the count de Campo Baso, and many others of the prime nobility of Naples^m. The victory itself became in some measure a burden to those who gained it; insomuch, that the chancellor Blaife Acereto, apprehensive of the consequences that might attend keeping such a number of prisoners on board the fleet, under colour of generosity, set four thou-

^l Zurita, Ferreras. ^k Abarca, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet.

ⁱ Hieronymi Blanca, Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Mariana, Ferreras,

^m Albinus, Pontanus, Miguel Carbonel, Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Mariana.

sand private men on shore the very next night, amongst whom many gentlemen escaped ⁿ.

Landed at Savona, and conducted by the duke's general to his capital at Milan.

Upon the news of this victory, the siege of Gaeta was raised; but the chancellor of Genoa would not carry the fleet into that port, from an apprehension that the command would be immediately taken from him by Francis Spinola: he sailed therefore to the island of Ischia, and demanded of the king Don Alonso, that he should order the fortress and island to be put into his hands; but he answered, that he would not give a fort to prevent his throwing him into the sea; upon which the Genoese admiral returned to Savona, which at that time belonged to the duke of Milan, and there landed the two kings, and other persons of distinction; from thence they were carried to Porto Venere, where they were met by Nicholas Picinino, one of the duke's principal generals, who, with an escort of six hundred horse, conducted them to Milan, into which city the king of Arragon, and the rest of the great persons who were the companions of his misfortunes, made their public entry on the 15th of September; and thus ended the triumphs of the duke and the Genoese.

The king draws over the duke of Milan, and engages him in a new alliance.

Great trials and sudden changes of fortune are the true tests of abilities. The 5th of August was not the most unfortunate, the 15th of September was the most happy of this monarch's life. The duke of Milan, from a point of generosity worthy of so great a prince, treated the king of Arragon with equal magnificence and respect; but what at first was mere complaisance and generosity, became very quickly something more. The very ceremonies of his reception were hardly over, when the king of Arragon told the duke, that he was amazed they should be enemies, whose tempers and whose interests were the same: he said, that, in preferring the neighbourhood of the duke of Anjou to that of a king of Arragon, he acted wisely, and like a politician; but that he ought to consider, that, if a French prince became once king of Naples, it would be a conquest made for France, who would not fail to pour in troops through Piedmont and the state of Genoa; by which means they would soon have Lombardy at their mercy; and consequently he, who was now the protector of the duke of Anjou, would be in great danger of becoming the king of Naples's vassal. The duke was struck with this observation very much, more especially when the king

ⁿ Abarca, Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet.

added, that these were always the sentiments of John Gallias his father, an assertion which the chief counsellors of the duke confirmed. The consequence of this remonstrance was, that within a few weeks the duke of Milan changed sides, and entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with the king of Arragon, against all the princes in the world, the pope not excepted; with which news the king of Navarre was sent away into Spain, and the king of Arragon, his brother the infant, and the Italian princes, were dismissed without ransom^o; which happy turn in his affairs the king knew so well how to second by his instructions to his generals, that, upon Christmas-day in the same year, the infant Don Pedro became master of Gaeta, and thereby opened a passage to the conquest of the whole kingdom of Naples^p. The republic of Genoa could not at all relish this signal act of generosity, but took advantage from thence to revolt from the duke of Milan, and to declare war both against him and his new ally.

The news of the king's captivity, and that of his brother the king of Navarre, made a great noise in Spain, more especially as the affairs of Arragon were not at that time in the best condition, the disputes with Castile remaining yet unsettled. The queen Donna Maria acted upon this occasion with a prudence so much the more laudable, as it was scarce to have been expected from her sex, and under so much affliction. She dispatched a herald at arms immediately with letters to the king her husband, and assembled as soon as possible the states of Arragon at Saragossa; upon which occasion they shewed the true spirit of a free people; for they advised her to call a general assembly of the states of Arragon, Valentia, Catalonia, and Majorca, in some convenient place, and took upon themselves to dispense with the usual formalities, alleging, that they were contrived only to guard against the royal prerogative, from which they had now nothing to fear^q. The queen fixed upon Moncon; to which place the deputies resorted, and took all the steps necessary for the security of their respective kingdoms; after which precautions, the queen had an interview with her brother Don Juan of Castile, who, at her request, prolonged the truce^r. While the states were contriving how to procure the sum necessary for the king's ransom, the king of Navarre very unexpectedly arrived,

States of Arragon, Valentia, and Catalonia, we with each other in granting him supplies.

^o Abarca, Zurita, Annal. Arragon. Pontanus, Miguel Carbo-
nel, Ferreras. ^p Albinus, Facio, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet.

^q Abarca, Zurita, Mariana. ^r Hernando Perez de Guzman, Mayerne, Turquet.

and laid before them the surprizing alteration of that monarch's circumstances, and his earnest desire that they would afford him such a supply as his exigencies required. The states at this time were at Alcaniz; but, upon receiving this information, they immediately separated, those of Valentia retiring to Morella, and those of Catalonia to Tortosa, that they might make their levies with the greater ease. As for the states of Arragon, they remained where they were: and, to give a good example, granted the king one hundred and twenty thousand florins; in Valentia they gave him one hundred thousand, and the like sum in Catalonia, where they ordered it to be laid out in fitting out a great fleet under the command of the count de Modica^s. Thus the king was in all respects a gainer by his defeat before Gaeta, and was himself amazed at the receiving of succours, which nothing could have procured but the surprize attending such a misfortune, happily improved by the application and address of the queen Donna Maria.

Don Alonso was accounted from this time king of Naples, the possession of which, not without great difficulty, he acquired by his arms; and though, being often pressed, he sometimes promised to return to his hereditary dominions, yet it never seems to have been his intention; and, perhaps, he was as little inclined to draw the queen thither, though he sometimes requested it, and particularly when he sent for his natural son Don Ferdinand, who, notwithstanding her severity to his mother, the queen caused to be educated with great care^t. As for the king of Navarre, and the infant Don Henry, they were wholly intent on promoting their interests in Castile, where they had the displeasure of hearing that the infant Don Pedro had lost his life before Naples; and, what added to their trouble, the duke of Anjou procured a great body of adventurers to make an irruption into Arragon, which, however, produced little effect. On the other hand, the success of Don Alonso alarmed the Italian princes so much, that a league was formed against him by the pope, the duke of Milan, the count of Sforza, the Venetians, Florentines, and Genoese; notwithstanding which, he became the very next year master of Naples, and broke that confederacy to pieces^w.

^s Abarca, Ferr. ^t Albinus, Zur. Mayerne, Turq. ^u Las
Memorias de Felipe de Comines, &c. ^w Pontanus, Miguel
Carbonel, Benedicti.

The ensuing year was still more glorious for Don Alonso; the inhabitants of most of the provinces of which the kingdom of Naples was composed, being weary of the miseries of war, submitted willingly to that prince, who, by the advice of some of his best friends, resolved to call together the states general of the whole kingdom at Benevento, from whence, at their own request, they were transferred to the capital city of Naples, into which the king made a public entry, very little inferior to that of a Roman triumph. In this assembly of the states, his son Don Ferdinand, whom he had created duke of Calabria, was acknowledged successor to the crown. He was now reconciled to the duke of Milan, by whose interposition he concluded a peace with pope Eugenius, who negotiated a marriage for his natural daughter Donna Maria with Lionel d'Este, duke of Ferrera^x. This disoblged Francis Picinini, the son of Nicholas, who had rendered the king great services during the war, and who had flattered himself with the hopes of marrying this princess by way of reward, and who, finding himself disappointed, quitted his dominions in twenty-four hours^y. Towards the end of the year, two very considerable officers in his service, Broylo de Mure and Pietro Brunoro, formed a project of seizing his person, in hopes of being gratified by count Sforza; but the plot being discovered when it was almost ripe for execution, the king seized and sent them into Arragon, where they remained for many years prisoners in the castle of Xativa. The duke of Milan, whose son-in-law count Sforza was, and who had hitherto lived upon bad terms with him, now thought fit to grant him his protection, and pressed the king to desist from making war^z.

Becomes sole and absolute master of the kingdom of Naples, and is so acknowledged.

A.D. 1443.

The continuance of his good fortune augmented, instead of extinguishing the envy of his neighbours; but though it gave him some disturbance, the loss fell upon them, and the king carried his point. The pope was obliged to grant him the investiture of Naples, which he had so often refused. He likewise legitimated his son, which, though a point of complaisance in him, was however very convenient to the king, since it took away all doubt about the right of succession; for Naples being held as a fief of the see of Rome, the pope, by this act of favour, removed the single advantage that himself and his successors might have taken against him. About the same time this young

Gives law, and is esteemed the great arbiter of war and peace through all Italy.

^x Abarca, Zurita, Mariana, Ferreras. ^y Mayerne, Turquet.
^z Albinus, Pontanus, Miguel Carb. Ferr.

prince was married to Isabella de Clermont, niece to the prince of Tarento; and, to crown his felicity, the Genoese, who had hated him so heartily, and from whom he had received so much hurt, were constrained to demand his protection. His subjects in Arragon, Catalonia, and Valentia, regretted his absence extremely, as they gave him frequently to understand, though at the same time they persisted steadily in their duty, of which they gave him many substantial marks. His brother Don Juan, king of Navarre, though not a little opinionated, often demanded his advice, which he did not always follow; for Don Alonso recommended a good understanding with the king of Castile, to whom he sent several embassies; and though he could not prevent his brother's taking contrary measures, yet he hindered, in a great measure, the bad consequences that might have attended them, and enabled the queen Donna Maria to remain always on good terms with her brother. He excited a spirit in the states of Arragon, that enabled him to controul Don Juan of Navarre in those violent measures he took in regard to his son the

A.D. 1455.

*But meets
with troubles and
disappointments,
which im-
bitter the
decline of
his life.*

prince of Viana, and in his intrigues with the malecontents of Castile, with which crown a solid peace was on the point of being concluded, when the king Don Juan of Castile died. This was actually concluded with his successor Don Henry upon the very terms that Alonso desired^a, and, during his life, punctually kept on both sides.

As the flower, so the decline of his age was spent in the hurry of negotiations, political intrigues, and the din of arms; neither were they without some disagreeable scenes and uneasy apprehensions. His nephew Don Carlos, prince of Viana, after having sustained a war against his father Don Juan, and suffered a tedious imprisonment, was at length compelled to retire to Naples, in hopes of enjoying some repose under the shadow of his protection. Don Alonso received him with a generosity worthy of so great a prince, and the tender affection that might be expected from so near a relation^b. His cousin the duke of Calabria, either in imitation of his father, or from a principle of compassion, shewed him all the respect and kindness imaginable; so that he enjoyed, while he remained with them, all the happiness that it was in their power to bestow, and, through their mediation, things were compromised to his satisfaction with the king his father^c; but af-

^a Hern. Perez de Guzm. Zurit. Ferrer.
Abarca, Mayerne, Turq.

^b Mig. Carb.
^c Zurit. Annal Arragon.

terwards the flame burst out with greater violence than ever, the people of Navarre having proclaimed him king, by which step the civil war was renewed; which so provoked the king Don Juan, that he disinherited him and one of his sisters.

Don Alonso, having prevailed on his nephew to leave all things to his decision, dispatched one of his ministers to the king Don Juan, who came at the critical conjuncture when things were on the point of being determined by a battle; but he executed his commission with such firmness and dexterity, that the king of Navarre consented to admit his brother's mediation, to declare all his proceedings against his son null and void, and to leave the terms of pacification to be settled as that monarch should think fit. At this time, though he had conquered many difficulties, and had united his old antagonist Francis Sforza, now duke of Milan, to his interests, by the marriage of his grandson to the duke's daughter, and his grand-daughter to the duke's son, yet fresh sources of troubles broke out. Pope Calixtus II. though born his subject, was not well affected to him, and the Neapolitans in general disliked the duke of Calabria, who was of a cloudy and reserved disposition, and had nothing of that easy address and natural affability, which had contributed more to his father's success than either his courage or his abilities; in which, however, few princes were his equals. But what troubled Don Alonso most was the discovery that some of the principal nobility of his kingdom had tampered with his nephew Don Carlos, who had not given so clear and direct an answer as the obligations he was under both to the father and son required. This ingratitude affected the king so much, that he fell into a fever; and Don Carlos, suspecting the cause, very prudently withdrew into Sicily, while the king, restless and uneasy, caused himself to be carried from one castle in Naples to another, and at length expired on the 22d of June, 1468, in the forty-third year of his reign over Arragon, and the countries dependent upon that crown.

His death, at which he bequeaths the kingdom of Naples to his natural son Don Ferdinand.

The character of D. Alonso V. of Arragon, and the First of Naples, stands not at all in need of any thing we can say; and yet there are certain circumstances that, for the satisfaction of our readers, ought not to be omitted. He was, beyond all doubt, the greatest prince that ever sat upon the throne of Arragon; a very able statesman, and one who did his business directly; disdaining whatever looked like cunning; a gallant soldier, and a great captain,

The character of Don Alonso,

tain, perfectly skilled in the art of war, which he managed openly, and without cruelty; learned himself, and the greatest patron of learning that age produced. He gave for his device a book opened; and it was his common saying, that an unlettered prince was but a crowned ass. He had, with many and great virtues, some vices, which, however, regarded rather his private than his public life. The greatest of his failings was his love of women, which was fatal to Donna Margarita de Hajar, the mother of Don Ferdinand, who was big with child by him, when she became the victim of his queen's jealousy^d. He had, besides, a Neapolitan mistress, who made much more noise in the world, and whom some say he was inclined to marry. Her name was Lucretia Alania, and his fondness for her in a very advanced period of life sullied his reputation very much^e. He died, however, with great marks of penitence, declaring, by his last testament, his brother Don Juan, king of Navarre, heir to the crowns of Arragon, Valentia, Majorca, Sardinia, and Sicily, and the principality of Catalonia, with all their dependencies^f. The kingdom of Naples, acquired by his arms, and to which he had a personal, not an hereditary right, he bestowed on Don Ferdinand duke of Calabria. Besides this natural son, he left behind him two daughters, Donna Maria, marchioness of Ferrara, and Donna Leonora, princess of Rossano, and duchess of Sessa. His death falling out as it did, saved the republic of Genoa, which was on the very point of being overwhelmed by his arms^g, and furnished new matter for intrigues to all the refined politicians in Italy.

Don Juan II. succeeds to the hereditary dominions, and the queen-dowager dies, soon after.

As soon as the news of the king's death reached Arragon, Don Juan II. was acknowledged and proclaimed king at Saragossa on the 25th of July. His first care was to appoint his daughter, the countess of Foix, vice-queen of Navarre, and to send Don Lope Ximenes de Urrea, with the title of viceroy, into Sicily, where he was apprehensive that his son, the prince of Viana, would have created some disturbances; but Don Carlos removed that fear by his letters, in which he declared he was willing to reside in any part of his father's dominions that he should assign him; a declaration which gave him great satisfaction, though he could not presently resolve where to place him. On the 4th of September, the same year, died at Valencia

^d Mayerne, Turquet Histoire General d'Hispana, liv. xx.
^e Zurit. Ferrer. ^f Mariana. ^g Albinus.

Donna Maria, queen-dowager of Arragon. In the succeeding month of November, the king went to Catalonia, where he confirmed the privileges of the inhabitants; and the next spring he did the same at Valencia ^h. The prince Don Carlos, by his command, quitted Sicily, and came to Majorca. During his residence there, a treaty was concluded between him and his father, by which the prince gave up all that was held by his partisans in Navarre, and, on the other hand, he was permitted to live in any part of his father's dominions, excepting that kingdom and in Sicily: he was restored to his father's favour; and such as had been imprisoned on his account were set at liberty. He was secured in the revenues of his principality of Viana; and his sister Donna Blanca was put in possession of her appenage ⁱ. In consequence of this treaty, the prince quitted Majorca, and went to Barcelona, where he made the deepest submission possible to the king his father, and to the queen his mother-in-law Donna Juana, daughter to the amirante of Castile; and thus, in appearance, all past disputes were buried in oblivion ^k. The king held the states of Arragon at Fraga, where it was expected that he would have caused the prince Don Carlos to be acknowledged for his successor: as he did not, it occasioned some murmurs; to silence which, he united the kingdoms of Sicily and Sardinia for ever to the crown of Arragon. He went from thence to Lerida, where he held the states of Catalonia, where; though he managed things with great dexterity, yet he could not hinder the Catalans from proposing that the infant Don Carlos should be acknowledged for his successor; but he found means to elude that proposition after it was made, and at length dissolved that assembly, without giving them any definitive answer. It was not long, however, before this troublesome affair created fresh confusion, which terminated at length in a very melancholy catastrophe.

A.D. 1460.

The king of Portugal had proposed to Don Juan of Arragon a match between the prince of Viana and the infant Catalina, or Catharine, of Portugal, with which the king seemed to be pleased, and to which the prince shewed no dislike. But the ambassadors sent by Don Henry of Castile to the court of Arragon found means to acquaint the prince, in their master's name, that he should not trouble himself about the hard usage he met with, since their

*Quarrel
between
that king
and his son
the prince
of Viana.*

^h Hieron. Blancæ Comment.
Annal. Arragon.

ⁱ Miguel Carb.

^k Zurit.

*His imprisonment
and death.*

master was desirous he should marry the infanta Donna Isabella, his sister; in consideration of which marriage, he would maintain his rights, and set him upon the throne by force. The prince, who saw but too much reason to doubt of his father's intentions towards him, did not reject this proposition, but gave a general answer, which the Castilian ambassadors might interpret as they pleased¹. It was not long before the admiral of Castile obtained intelligence of this treaty, and gave notice of it to the queen of Arragon, who laboured to persuade the king that this was little better than a contrivance to dethrone him. When her arguments failed of persuading, she had recourse to tears; and the old king, to quiet her, promised to arrest his son, and keep him in prison. To seize him at Barcelona was impossible; he sent for him therefore to Lerida; and though the prince was told what his father's intentions were, yet nothing could prevent his going. The king caused him to be seized in his presence, and to be afterwards transferred from prison to prison, as if he had been guilty of some great crime; and, which was worse, he gave out that the prince had conspired against his life^m. The states of Arragon remonstrated upon this conduct; the states of Catalonia did more; they demanded the prince's liberty, and that he should be declared heir apparent; and they raised a numerous army, and fitted out a good fleet to procure it. The king Don Juan armed on his side; but the queen grew afraid, desired the husband to set the prince at liberty, and to comply with their demands; to which he consented, and she had the credit of his compliance. The states of Catalonia thanked her by their deputies; but they would not suffer her to come with the prince to Barcelona, and the king found himself obliged to leave the whole principality of Catalonia in his handsⁿ; but he entered into a treaty with the king of Castile, whom he easily engaged to abandon and betray his son, and committed to prison a gentleman whom he had sent to execute a commission of some importance to them both; which behaviour, as it manifested an irreconcilable aversion, affected the prince to such a degree, that he fell into a slow fever, of which he died at Barcelona, on Wednesday September the 23d, 1461, in the forty-first year of his age.

This prince was remarkable for his great qualities and his extensive learning, and still more for his misfortunes.

¹ Miguel Carbonel. ^m Zurita Annal. Arragon. ⁿ Hieronymi Blancæ Comment.

He was certainly intitled to the crown of Navarre, of which his mother was the heiress. His courage, his modesty, and his steady adherence to his friends, made him generally beloved. He was a great master of ancient literature, as appears from his writing a commentary on the Ethics of Aristotle. He composed likewise a history of Navarre. He was a great admirer of poetry, and delighted principally in the conversation of men of letters. He gave for his device two mastiffs snarling over a bone; and sometimes told his friends, that bone was the kingdom of Navarre, which sometimes felt the teeth of Castile, and sometimes those of France. On his death-bed he desired his father's pardon; and, by his testament, bequeathed the kingdom of Navarre to his sister Donna Blanca. His favourites would have persuaded him to marry his mistress Donna Brianda Vaca, but he refused it; probably out of respect to his sister. He left by that lady two sons, Don Philip, count of Beaufort, Don Juan Alonso, and a daughter Donna Ines, or Anne, of Navarre^p. It was generally believed that he was poisoned; and that the poison was given him by a physician at the instance of the queen his mother-in-law, while he was confined. He was so entirely beloved by the people of Barcelona, that they believed miracles were wrought at his tomb. Their resentment of his ill usage ran so high, that they were strongly inclined to set up for a free state; and to this measure they were not a little encouraged by Lewis XI. of France. We will end this subject by observing, that the infanta Donna Catalina of Portugal entered into the convent of Santa Clara at Lisbon as soon as she heard of the prince's death^p.

Some particulars of this young prince's life and character.

As the queen Donna Juanna was a princess of infinite dexterity and address, she prevailed, notwithstanding these prejudices, on the states of Catalonia to acknowledge her son Don Ferdinand for the legal successor, and to take the oaths to him, considered in that light. The people, however, were intractable; insomuch that a general insurrection ensued, partly owing to the indiscretion of the queen, who encouraged the peasants in a certain district to throw off the yoke of their lords; a measure which disgusted all the nobility, and the queen found herself obliged to retire with her son to Gironne, where she was soon after besieged by the rebels^q. In the mean time the king Don Juan, being in great want of money, entered into a treaty with Lewis XI. of France, to whom he mortgaged the

The Catalonians revolt against their king, out of hatred to the queen Donna Juanna.

^o Miguel Carbonel.

^p Zurita, Annal.

^q Ferreras.

countries of Roussillon and Cerdagne for two hundred thousand crowns. By the help of this money, and with the assistance of French troops, he raised the siege^r. He not long after seized his daughter Donna Blanca, carried her by force over the Pyrenees, and put her into the hands of the count and countess of Foix, who, though they were her nearest relations, were her bitterest enemies. That unfortunate princess wrote to the king of Castile for assistance, to whom she bequeathed her right to the kingdom of Navarre. She was imprisoned for about two years in a castle in Bearn, and then poisoned^s. In the mean time the Catalans still continued in arms, and, as we have already shewn, offered their principality to the king of Castile, proclaimed him at Barcelona, and procured succours from him several times, till he was prevailed upon to leave all disputes with the crown of Arragon to Lewis XI. of France, who declared these proceedings void. The Catalans then called in Don Pedro of Portugal, under whom they continued the war, though with no great success, the king gaining several advantages over them, and particularly a battle on the last of January, in which several persons of distinction were taken prisoners^t. The credit of this was given to the infant Don Ferdinand, though some writers say, that he was no otherwise intitled to it than by being in the rear of the army. This battle was followed by the loss of many places of importance; and, on the 29th of June, in the year following, the infant Don Pedro died, leaving his claim to the principality of Catalonia, which arose from his mother, descended from the count de Urgel, to the infant Don Juan. This, however, had little effect; for, on the one hand, the king reduced Tortosa, and, on the other, the Catalans called in René, duke of Anjou, and his son, John duke of Lorraine, as being descended from a house that once set up a claim to the crown of Arragon.

Great actions and death of that princefs.

The duke of Anjou was then so far in years, that he was in a manner superannuated; but as ambition is the last inclination subdued by princes, so this application of the people of Catalonia revived him as it were from the grave; and though himself, like the rest of his family, had been hitherto unfortunate in all his pretensions, yet he exerted himself to the utmost in raising forces, which were embarked for Catalonia under the command of his

^r Las Memorias de Felipe de Comines.
^t Zurit. Annal.

^s Hieron. Blan.

son John, duke of Lorrain^u. The king of Arragon, foreseeing that this affair would give him a great deal of trouble, solicited assistance from all quarters; and, though he was very old and infirm, put himself at the head of his armies, and shewed great spirit and experience in the conduct of the war; for the maintenance of which the people of Barcelona spent without reluctance that immense wealth which they had gained by their commerce^w. On the other hand the queen was no less active; and though many princesses have, like her, entered into their husbands councils, yet there are few examples of their commanding an army as she did. What is still more extraordinary, she formed the project of embarking troops, in order to besiege Roses, which, however, she found it not easy to reduce. She afterwards made a tour into the county of Foix, where she regulated several points of importance in regard to the kingdom of Navarre. These fatigues, however, became at last too great for her constitution, so that, finding herself indisposed, she retired to Tarragona, where, after a long illness, she breathed her last on the 13th of February, 1468. In her last moments, it is said, she exclaimed with great passion, "My son, my son, Ferdinand, how dear has thy greatness cost me!" Some authors pretend, that she acknowledged herself accessory to the death of the infant Don Carlos; and that, when the king Don Juan was informed of it, he expressed the greatest horror and detestation of the fact. He was, not long after, in great danger of being taken prisoner by the duke of Lorrain, who took all his baggage, and afterwards formed the siege of Gironne^x. The king then went to Saragossa, where he held an assembly of the states, in which he declared his son, Don Ferdinand, king of Sicily, and his coadjutor in the throne of Arragon. The same year Don Juan, who had been some years almost blind by cataracts on both eyes, was cured by a Jew, and recovered his sight^y.

There wanted not many who thought the death of the queen would be very detrimental to the king's affairs; but it proved quite otherwise; for the people had been accustomed to attribute most of the violences in his reign to the ascendancy she had over him; and it quickly appeared that the people are not always mistaken in their sentiments. The king assembled a good army for the relief of Gironne, before which the duke of Lorrain lay with an army of

The Catalans persist obstinately in their rebellion.

^u Zurit, Annal. Blanc.

^w Mariana.

^x Miguel Carbonel.

^y Hieron.

fifteen thousand men; but when the troops of Arragon drew near the place, they found it had already surrendered: the king then quitted the command of the army, and retired with a small body of troops in order to enjoy the pleasure of hunting^z. Don Ferdinand, king of Sicily, finding himself at the head of an army, was prevailed upon by some of his favourites to attempt surprising the duke of Lorrain, who being a brave and better foldier than himself, defeated him, and would have made a great use of this victory, if the old king had not advanced to Urgel, and thereby hindered his son's troops from flying farther^a. When both armies were gone into winter-quarters, the count de Foix made an irruption into Navarre, against whom Don Juan was obliged to march; but matters were quickly compromised. What gave him more trouble than all these was his extreme want of money, his treasury being in a manner exhausted by the presents and subsidies which were requisite for promoting his son's marriage with the infanta Donna Isabella. He found means, however, to fit out a good fleet in order to intercept the enemy's succours, and, by the sale of some places to the prelates and clergy, he was in some measure delivered from his distress^b. His subjects in Sicily, and his nephew Don Ferdinand sent him also assistance.

A.D. 1469.

Are defeated in a general action by Don Juan, with a considerable loss.

About the middle of May in the next year, the king assembled the states of Catalonia at Moncon, where things passed rather better than he expected; however, nothing decisive happened in the campaign; and, in September, when he came to hold the states of Arragon at Saragossa, they granted him all that he demanded; so that he found himself in a condition to put a good army on foot against the ensuing spring^c. On the 16th of December the duke of Lorrain died at Barcelona, and, in his last moments, advised the Catalans to make their peace with the king Don Juan, which, however, they refused to do, and employed a considerable sum of money in hiring Italian and French troops for their own defence. Nicholas, the eldest son of the duke of Lorrain, little regarding his father's dying admonition, assumed the title of king of Arragon, notwithstanding that the major part of the inhabitants of Barcelona were inclined to submit to the French^d. The king Don Juan reduced Gironne and several other places, but ran a very great risk at the siege of Peralada,

A.D. 1470.

^z Hieron. Blancæ Comment. Carbon.

^c Mariana.

^a Zurita Annal. ^d Ibid.

^b Miguel

where the count of Campo Baso, at the head of a corps of mercenaries, broke into his camp in the night, and forced the old king to save his life by flying on horseback, without any thing on but his shirt; he returned, however, the next day to the siege, and carried the place^c. The inhabitants of Perpignan also cut the throats of the French garrison in the night, and opened their gates to the king's troops^f. The rebellion was now in a manner confined within the walls of Barcelona, and the king gave orders to his natural son Don Alonso of Arragon, and the count of Prades, to block up that city, in hopes that step would produce a treaty; but the rebels, grown desperate, and provoked by the scarcity of provisions, ordered their generals, Don Denis of Portugal, and James Galeot, to march out and attack the king's forces. This engagement happened on the 5th of November, and at the very beginning the Catalans gave way; however, about four thousand remaining firm, Don Alonso and the count de Prades surrounded, and cut them and their two generals to pieces; and soon after the count de Prades defeated the count de Campo Baso, and his Italians. In all probability the king would have put an end to the war if he had not been obliged to attend to the affairs of Navarre, and to those of his son Don Ferdinand, whose marriage with Donna Isabella required continual supplies of money, since his business could not otherwise advance in a corrupt court.

A.D. 1471.

In the ensuing spring Don Ferdinand came to make his father a visit, and found him employed in the siege of Barcelona, which was carried on both by land and sea. The pope's legate, cardinal Borgia, came hither also, and had an audience of the king. In the mean time Lewis the Eleventh of France, and the duke of Lorraine, made various efforts in order to raise the siege of Barcelona, but without effect. At length things were brought to such an extremity that the besieged had nothing to hope, when the king offered to receive them all to his mercy, to confirm their privileges, to bury in eternal oblivion all that was past, and not to punish any of them either in person or in property; which terms they rejected, chiefly by the influence of the count de Pailhars, whom he had pardoned the year before. The army, on the other hand, was very earnest in being led on to the assault, in hopes of having the plunder of the place. The king wrote a letter to the citizens, dated the 6th of October, in terms as ten-

*Barcelona
surrenders,
but pre-
scribes its
own
terms.*

^c Zurita.

^f Las Memorias de Felipe de Comines.

der and as affectionate as if they had been his children, bewailing the miseries they had brought on themselves, and concluding with a protestation, that they, and not he, must be answerable for future events. Upon the receipt of this, at the persuasion of a priest, who had the reputation of sanctity, they sent their deputies to the king, and made a capitulation on the 17th of the same month; in which the king took all upon himself, acknowledged they took arms upon just motives, and pardoned every body, the count de Pailhars excepted, who, however, was suffered to escape ^f. On the 22d, the king made his public entry into the city, and confirmed their privileges ^g. The same year a marriage was concluded between Don Frederic, the second son of Don Ferdinand king of Naples, and the infanta Donna Joanna of Arragon ^h.

The inhabitants of Perpignan in the utmost terror of being besieged by the French.

The inhabitants of Perpignan and Elne having massacred the French garrisons, in order to put themselves again under the obedience of the king of Arragon, began to be very apprehensive of the vengeance of Lewis XI. who was assembling a great army, on purpose to chastise them. The king came in person to direct the new fortifications of Perpignan, and brought with him his son Don Alonso of Arragon, the counts of Cardona and Prades, and several other officers of distinction, who omitted nothing that could be devised for the security of the place. When the strength of the enemy was thoroughly known, they intreated the king to retire; but Don Juan, having observed consternation in the countenances of the inhabitants, called a general assembly in the great church, where he told them, that he knew very well the character of the prince they had offended, and the danger to which they were exposed; that they could be only safe by a vigorous defence; and, to encourage them to this, laying his hand suddenly on the Gospels, he swore he would remain with them, and undergo all the fatigues of the siege. The place was presently invested by a numerous army, under the command of Philip count of Bresse. The Catalans no sooner received advice of this incident than, forgetting their former disposition, they took arms every where throughout the principality, and sent deputies to desire Don Ferdinand king of Sicily to come and put himself at their head. That prince, ever famous for his prudence, would have excused himself from the perplexed state of his own affairs; but Donna Isabella, and the

^f Hier. Blancæ Comment.

^g Zurita.

^h Marian.

archbishop

archbishop of Toledo, told him, that his duty required him to forget all things but the danger of his father and his king. He set out therefore immediately for Barcelona, where he found an army of twenty-five thousand men in complete order, and ready to march.

The king Don Juan defended Perpignan with a steadiness that exceedingly perplexed the French, and notwithstanding a circumstance very extraordinary, which was that the citadel was yet in their hands. Their army was at first near forty thousand men; but by Midsummer, when Don Ferdinand passed the Pyrenees, they thought themselves too weak to continue the siege, and therefore set fire to their camp, and retired^l. The old king marched out with his garrison to meet and embrace his son, who in a few days followed the French with his army, but found them so well intrenched that he did not think fit to attack them. Upon their motion a truce was concluded for a time; upon which Don Ferdinand returned with his troops to Barcelona, where he dismissed the greater part of them^k. On the other hand, Lewis XI. after bestowing the bitterest reproaches upon his generals, cancelled the truce, and, having reinforced the army with ten thousand men, sent them back to see if they could take Perpignan, now there was no army to relieve it. The king Don Juan was still there, when the place was a second time invested. Finding himself pushed hard, he caused a report to be spread, that the great cities behind the French army had revolted, and were marching with a great force to attack them in their trenches; upon which they raised the siege a second time, and he handled their rear-guard so roughly, that there was no bringing them to look at Perpignan any more^l. Lewis XI. thought fit to send a minister to negotiate a peace, which, both parties being heartily weary of the war, was very speedily concluded, upon easy and reasonable terms^m. The king Don Juan, returning through Catalonia, was received with the loudest acclamations, and those who had been the most forward in the rebellion were not the most backward in paying their court to the victorious monarch, who received them with great courtesy and kindness, and exhorted them to make use of the peace to restore their country to its former flourishing conditionⁿ.

Are gloriously defended in two sieges by the old king, who forces the enemy to raise both.

^l Mariana.
Comment.
ⁿ Abarca.

^k Zurita.
^m Las Memorias de Felipe de Comines.

^l Hieron. Blancæ

*The French
by an infi-
dusous trea-
ty gain
what they
could not
gain by a
fair war.*

But he was quickly convinced that this treaty, which had been negotiated with so much seeming candour, required many improvements and explanations, in order to render it a safe and solid peace: he sent therefore two persons of distinction to Paris, with full powers to adjust every thing, and to set the most difficult points in a full and clear light. These ministers found so many obstacles on the road, that it was a long time before they got to Paris; and when they reached that city, the king was absent. They would have followed him, but those intrusted with the administration caused them to be arrested.ⁿ This method of acting answered two ends; it gave the French an opportunity of destroying all the harvest in the neighbourhood of Perpignan, in hopes of causing a scarcity there, when they entered it, as they did with a powerful army; and, on the other hand, it kept the old king of Arragon in the dark, so that he had no kind of certainty whether peace or war was to be expected.^o He went, however, to Barcelona, where he held an assembly of the states, who granted him all he could desire.^p He sent also for his son Don Ferdinand, and though his affairs were much embarrassed in Castile, yet, by the advice of Donna Isabella, he set out for Arragon, and travelled with great dispatch; but, on his arrival at Saragossa, he found things in much confusion, the whole country being rent with faction. He obtained, however, a body of forces, and, having assembled the states, desired them to enable the viceroy and the chief justice to put the laws in execution, and to restore the public tranquility; giving them to understand, that where there was no law, there could be no liberty. In the meantime, the old king, having received a supply of provisions from Naples, had re-victualled Perpignan, and, with the assistance of the troops his son brought him, had a tolerable army in the field. Don Ferdinand returned again in a little time to Saragossa, where there was one Ximenes Gordo, who had gained such an ascendancy in the city, that nothing could be done without him, whose relations and creatures were possessed of all the good employments, and who, notwithstanding, were guilty of the most outrageous acts of oppression. Don Ferdinand inquired why these mischiefs were not redressed, and was told that Gordo's exorbitant power was too strong for the laws. Upon this intimation, he sent

ⁿ Zurita Annal.
^p Ferreras.

^o Hieronymi Blancæ Comment.

for him to the palace, and conducted him into a private apartment, where there were some of his guards, a hangman, and a priest, in whose hands he left him. As soon as he was informed that he was dead, he ordered the body to be publicly exposed, and then went to the states, and told them that it was their business to do the rest: upon which they seized his creatures, convicted and executed them by due course of law. Having thus restored the public peace, he returned to Castile^a. The French, having a superior power in Roussillon, made themselves masters of Elne, and ravaged the best part of the country without measure or mercy, the circumstances of Don Juan being such as put it out of his power to oppose them.

A.D. 1474.

The king Don Henry of Castile being dead, and that country in the utmost confusion, Lewis XI. took the opportunity of pouring in multitudes of troops upon Roussillon; so that at length his generals were in a condition to besiege Perpignan for the third time. The old king Don Juan, though laden with cares and infirmities, neglected nothing that could be done for the relief of that place, and would certainly have relieved it, if he had either been possessed of money himself, or if his subjects had been wealthy enough to supply him: but, for want of this, the French prevailed. The inhabitants, after having been reduced to the necessity of eating cats, dogs, and all kind of vermin, surrendered, upon tolerable terms, about the middle of March; and, having stipulated a liberty of quitting the place, most of them retired into Catalonia^c. After this conquest, Lewis thought fit to propose a truce for six months, which Don Juan was forced to accept, that he might have some time to provide against the next campaign. As soon as the truce was ended, the French renewed their hostilities, and pushed their conquests to the very frontiers of Catalonia. At the same time they made war on Arragon, the French attacked the dominions of Castile likewise, and made two irruptions into Biscay, but with little effect. However, the last obliged Don Ferdinand to make a tour into that province, which gave him an opportunity of having an interview with his father, whose affairs were never in a worse situation than at this juncture^e. Arragon was so torn by factions, and overrun by banditti, that all the states could do to restore quiet was to authorize holy confederacies, that is, voluntary associations of private men taking arms for the public ser-

*Distressed
state of Ar-
ragon by
plague,
war, and
factions.*

A.D. 1475.

^a Zurita Annal,

^c Ferreras.

^e Abarca.

A.D. 1476.

vice. In Valentia the like mischiefs prevailed, and the plague ravaged Barcelona, and a great part of Catalonia †. The French heightened all these mischiefs by continuing the war, while the Catalans found it impossible to assemble an army, till necessity obliged them to lay their hands upon the treasure belonging to the city of Barcelona, with which measure the inhabitants were very little pleased; but as there was no remedy, they were obliged to submit, more especially as it was not done without the king's orders.

A.D. 1477.

Amongst the rest of those potent persons, who made no scruple of increasing the calamities, and adding to the confusion in which affairs then were, Don Jayme of Arragon was one of the most troublesome. Having assembled a band of lawless persons, by their assistance he took possession of the duchy of Villa Hermosa, and fortified several places for his own security. The king dispatched his orders to the viceroy of Valentia to set up the royal standard, and to make a fair trial whether the people of that kingdom would not enable him to redress these disorders, and to bring this powerful criminal to justice. The viceroy, in obedience to the king's orders, assembled some forces, besieged the fortrefs into which Don Jayme had retired, and, having made him prisoner, sent him to Barcelona, where the king caused him to be beheaded, but gave his whole estate to his grandson †. In the month of August, the infanta Donna Joanna embarked on board the fleet sent from Sicily, and, having touched first at Genoa, went from thence to Naples, in order to espouse the king Don Ferdinand †. In the last interview the king of Arragon had with his son Don Ferdinand, he had pressed him exceedingly to receive the archbishop of Toledo again into his favour: all the answer he received was, that he would labour to overcome the extreme resentment that the queen Donna Isabella had against him; and it was with great satisfaction Don Juan received the news that this was accomplished; but he was by no means pleased that his son and daughter were determined to conclude a peace with the king of France; in consequence of which he saw plainly that the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne would be lost. To protract, however, the evil hour as much as possible, he negotiated a truce for another year, in hopes by that time he might be in a better condition to carry on the war *. His natural son Don Juan de Arra-

† Marians.

* Hieron. Blanc. Comment.

† Zurita.

* Ferr.

gon, archbishop of Saragossa, being dead, he, in conjunction with his son Don Ferdinand, solicited the pope to give that archbishoprick to Don Alonso of Arragon, who was the natural son of the king Don Ferdinand; which request the pope absolutely refused on account of his being a child, and named the cardinal of Montreal to that archbishoprick; but the two kings adhering obstinately to their resolution of not having any other archbishop, the pope was constrained to declare Don Alonso administrator of the archbishoprick, with which declaration they were satisfied. This incident shews how little these lucrative benefices contribute to the welfare of the church, when he, who was esteemed the head of it, could be obliged to grant administration of such a see to a bastard of six years of age, and thereby create a precedent equally pernicious and scandalous.

The king Don Juan, having appointed an interview with his son at Daroca, was preparing for his journey thither, when he was surpris'd by death at Barcelona, January 19th, 1479, when he had lived fourscore and two years, and had reigned over Arragon twenty-one. He had by his first queen Donna Blanca, the widow of Martin king of Sicily, and the heirs of Navarre, the unfortunate Don Carlos prince of Viana; the still more unfortunate Donna Blanca, who espoused Don Henry of Castile, and, after having spent her whole life in sorrow, died of poison of prison; and Donna Leonora, countess of Foix, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Navarre. By Donna Juana Henriques he had his son Don Ferdinand, who succeeded him in the throne of Arragon; Donna Juana, queen of Naples; Donna Maria and Donna Leonora, who died young. His natural children were almost without number: by a lady of the illustrious family of Avelaneda he had Don Juan of Arragon, archbishop of Saragossa; by Donna Leonora de Escobar he had Don Alonso of Arragon, duke of Villa Hermosa, and count of Ribagorça; by a lady of Navarre he had two sons, who died young, and a daughter, Donna Leonora, who espoused Don Lewis de Beaumont, constable of that kingdom; and at the very time of his decease he had a mistress, who was a Catalan. He was naturally just as well as brave, very liberal, but was apt to confide too much in his wives, his mistresses, and his favourites, whence arose all his misfortunes. His body was first deposited in the cathedral of

A.D. 1478.

Don Juan compels the pope to grant the administration of Saragossa to a bastard of six years old.

Dies at Barcelona, by which Arragon and its dominions are united to the crown of Castile.

Barcelona, and then carried on the shoulders of the principal nobility of Catalonia to the monastery of Poblete, and there interred with his ancestors^z. His son Don Ferdinand confirmed the laws and privileges of the kingdom of Arragon at Saragossa on the 26th of June, did the same at Barcelona on the 1st of September, and from thence went to Valentia for the like purpose^a; and thus the crown of Arragon was united to that of Castile.

S E C T. XIII.

The History of the Spanish Monarchy, from the Accession of their Catholic Majesties Ferdinand and Isabella, to that of the Emperor Charles V. and the first of that Name in Spain.

Their majesties Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella proclaimed at Segovia.

A.D. 1474.

THE news of Don Henry's death no sooner reached the ears of the archbishop of Toledo, than he dispatched a courier with a letter to Don Ferdinand, then in the kingdom of Arragon, in which he gave him the title of king of Castile and Leon, and pressed him to lose no time in returning to his dominions^b. That prince's consort Isabella did the like; but she thought it very expedient not to defer the ceremony of taking possession of the crown till his arrival. On the 13th of December, she caused herself to be publicly invested with all the ensigns of regal dignity, on a scaffold erected in the town of Segovia, upon which a throne was placed, very richly adorned. When the queen was seated, a herald proclaimed Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella king and queen of Castile and Leon: then she went to the cathedral, where Te Deum was sung with loud acclamations of the people, and many of the principal nobility came to compliment her upon her accession, and to assure her of their fidelity, amongst whom none was more active than the cardinal of Spain and the archbishop of Toledo^c. She dined that day with Andrew de Cabrera, alcaide of the citadel of Segovia, who delivered up to her that important fortress, with all the treasures that were in it. After dinner, she gave him the gold cup in which she drank; assuring him, that she herself, and her successors, should annually, upon that day, send to him, or his re-

^z Mariana. ^a Zurita, Annal. Atragon. Aberca, Hieronymi Blancae, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras. ^b Hernando del Pulgar, Zurita, ^c Lucius Marinæus Siculus.

presentative, the gold cup in which they drank ^d. On the other hand, the marquis of Villena took all imaginable precautions for the security of the infanta. Having renewed his intrigues with the king of Portugal, he is supposed to have sent him the original will of king Henry, that he might be better satisfied as to the rights of this princess, be the more inclined to marry her, and to support the faction which the marquis was forming in her favour^e, and to which his own numerous family, and some other persons of quality, adhered.

Upon the arrival of the king Don Ferdinand at Segovia, he made a public entry with great magnificence, and, in conjunction with the queen, continued all the great officers of the crown in their respective charges ^f. It was not long, however, before some differences arose about the administration of the government. Many of the nobility thought it belonged entirely to the queen, as the sole heiress of Castile and Leon. Some, however, were of a contrary opinion, and had the lawyers on their side. At length it was agreed, that this delicate affair should be referred to the cardinal of Spain, Mendoza, and the archbishop of Toledo. By them it was decided, that they should govern jointly; that the king's name should precede the queen's, but that he should do nothing of importance but by her consent, with which decision he was not entirely satisfied ^g (A). The archbishop of Toledo was so much

Find themselves obliged to defend their title by arms against the infanta Donna Juana.

^d Garibay, Historia de Hispania.
Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, Zurita, Ferreras,
del Pulgar, & al.

^e Damian de Goes,
^f Hernando
^g Garibay, &c.

(A) The articles settled between the arbitrators were in substance these (1): 1. That in all letters, public acts, and inscriptions upon money, the name of the king should precede that of the queen; but with regard to the arms and titles of their respective dominions, those of the queen should have the preference. 2. That the governors of provinces, cities, and fortresses, should be appointed solely by the queen, hold the places in her name, and that all officers in the revenue should be accountable only to her. 3. That the provision of bishopricks, and other ecclesiastical benefices, should be in both their majesties names, but the nomination solely in the queen. 4. That when they happened to be separate, each should administer justice in the places where they happened to be. 5. And, with respect to ordinary magistrates,

(1) Mariana Historia General de Hispania, lib. xxiv.

much displeased at the regard shewn by their majesties to cardinal Mendoza, that, after visible signs of discontent, he quitted the court entirely, under pretence of being desirous of spending the rest of his days in quiet, but, in reality, that he might contrive ways and means to make them sensible how dangerous it was to disoblige an archbishop of Toledo^b. The king Don Juan of Arragon sent two persons of distinction to soften him; the king Don Ferdinand sent several of the first nobility on the same errand; the queen went herself to make him a visit at Alcala, but to no purpose; for he sent her word, if she entered the town at one gate, he would go out at the otherⁱ. They tampered also with the marquis of Villena, who made no scruple of setting his price, but he set it too high^k. At length Don Alonso IV. of Portugal, in the month of May, entered Castile, espoused his niece the infanta publicly, and took the titles to which he pretended by this marriage; so that the rest of the year was spent in all the confusion of a civil war, in which, though the malcontents did not make any great progress, and even the principal places in the marquisate of Villena revolted in their favour, yet they found themselves so much distressed for money, that they were obliged to borrow, and convert into specie the church plate, which, for many reasons, was never done without great reluctance^l.

A.D. 1475.

*The Portuguese de-
serted be-
fore Toro,
by the king
Don Ferdi-
nand.*

This war was carried on, on both sides, at least as much by policy as by force of arms; a method which gave Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella great advantages. The former enquired strictly, and punished with great severity, all offences against the state; but shewed great mildness and lenity in affairs that regarded the crown, received almost all into favour who desired it, and granted them pardons for what was past, but admonished them to do their duty, and obey the laws for the time to come. The queen was still more active, milder, and more munificent, the

^b Zurita, Lucius Marinæus Siculus, Fer.

Pulgar. Anton. Nebriss.

^k Garibay, & al.

ⁱ Hernando del

^l Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, Damian de Goes.

either of their majesties might appoint them, who had the privy council attending upon his or her person. It is very certain that Don Ferdinand was so little pleased, that he had

some thoughts of returning into his own dominions; and it is also certain, that it was not the statesmen, but the queen Donna Isabella, who satisfied and made him easy (2).

(2) Alonso de Palencia, Hernando del Pulgar. Zurita.

same

fame of which virtues had great effects. The citadel of Burgos, which had held out an obstinate siege, was surrendered to the queen in person; and this method became so much the mode, that with a flying army of no considerable force she reduced several places of strength. The king Don Ferdinand had recovered the town, and was besieging the citadel of Zamora. He made an attempt upon Toro, which was the king of Portugal's head-quarters, but without success. He managed this siege with greater address, investing the citadel so closely, that no succours could enter; and fortifying his camp so well, that it was very difficult to force. Don Alonso, notwithstanding, resolved to attempt the relief of the place, towards which the infant Don Juan brought him a great reinforcement of troops out of Portugal, for the raising of which he had made free with all the churches treasure. The army of Don Alonso, thus reinforced, arrived before Zamora^m. Don Ferdinand, though superior in number, remained close within his lines, and contented himself with disappointing all the attempts that were made to throw succours into the fortrefs, or to attack any of the posts. On Friday the 1st of March the enemy retired, but in good order, the king in the centre, the prince Don Juan on the right, the archbishop of Toledo and his malecontents on the left-wing. Don Ferdinand passed the river with his army in pursuit of them; and about four in the afternoon, marching down the side of a mountain, he saw the enemy drawn up in order of battle, in a plain at a small distance from Toro, upon which an engagement ensued. Authors differ much in their accounts of this battle; but it is however agreed, that the centre and the left-wing of the Portuguese were routed, the prince of Portugal retired towards night to an eminence, and made a good retreat from thence the next day. The loss was far from being great, and yet the victory proved decisiveⁿ. Don Alonso first sent the prince to cover his own country, and then followed with the rest of the army. The citadel of Zamora surrendered, and Don Ferdinand was left at liberty to go into Biscay, where the French were for the third time obliged to raise the siege of Fontarabia. The archbishop of Toledo and the marquis of Villena detached themselves from the Portuguese, in order to mind their own affairs. The queen Donna Isabella drew over many A.D. 1476.

^m Alonso de Palencia, Garibay, Ferreras.
Goes, Hernando del Pulgar, Mariana.

ⁿ Damian de

of the malecontents, and most of the cities and fortresses that had been garrisoned by them revolted, and submitted to her and her husband.

*Insolence of
Don Alonso
de Carillo
archbishop
of Toledo,
and firm-
ness of the
king and
queen.*

The king of Portugal being gone into France to solicit succours from Lewis the Eleventh, Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella had the more time to restore the domestic quiet of their dominions; a thing so much the more necessary, as in almost all the cities and great towns there were factions that kept up a kind of civil war amongst themselves, without paying any respect to the laws, or regard to the royal authority. At Toledo these heats were carried so high, that a battle was fought between the contending parties, in which a considerable number was slain on both sides. At the return of the king and queen, they caused a great number of the most factious persons to be arrested, and brought to a trial, where some were condemned to death, others to banishment and lighter punishments, according to the nature of their crimes; nor would their majesties hear of commuting those punishments for the sake of money^p. There was still a kind of treaty going on with the archbishop; to facilitate which, their majesties went to Madrid, and the king offered to treat in person with that prelate at the Pardo; but the latter brought such a multitude of armed men in his retinue, that the king, who was very slenderly attended, thought fit to retire without seeing him^q. Under colour of this treaty the archbishop sent for the constable, the duke of Infantado, the count de Haro, and other friends and relations, to the castle of Uceda, where he prevailed upon them to sign a letter to their majesties, drawn up with great skill and art, full of promises of fidelity and submission, but insinuating that sovereigns ought to have a great regard for their nobility; and proposing, at the close, that the method which had been practised in the reign of king Henry, when the king did nothing but by consent of four of his grandees, who by turns attended on his person, should be revived. Their majesties returned a very quick answer to this letter, in which they told the archbishop and his friends, that they would ever respect the laws, to the maintenance of which they had sworn, and make a strict observance of those laws the recommendation to their favour; but this being the rule of their conduct, they knew not any rank of their subjects that had a right

^p Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, Hernando del Pulgar, Garibay, Zurita, Ferreras.
^q Luc. Marin. Sic. Anton. Nebriss.

to exemption; and that, deriving their authority from divine and human laws, they would govern as sovereigns, and not as slaves to grandees, by whom they expected to be obeyed^r. This answer mortified the archbishop extremely, more especially when he understood that the constable and some other lords were gone to Madrid, to make their submission to the king and queen; and that all the rest, being summoned, had taken the same step^s. The marquis of Villena had made his peace the year before, and promised to restore all the places he held to the crown: one of the chief of these was Truxillo; the queen went thither and summoned it; the governor refused to open the gates; the queen sent the marquis word, that if it was not surrendered by a certain day, he was to consider the agreement as void; upon which he came in person, and put it into her hands^t, upon the twenty-fourth of June. In like manner the king and queen traversed most of the provinces, and settled things in the best manner possible, by a proper mixture of clemency and justice. By their orders, a truce for three years was concluded with the king of Granada, who, taking advantage of the troubles in their dominions, had made an irruption into the kingdom of Murcia, which, being in direct breach of a treaty, though for the present passed by, was not either forgiven or forgot^u, more especially as it was accompanied with extraordinary provocations.

The queen spent the best part of the next year in the southern provinces of Spain, and was brought to bed of a son at Seville, where the factions and disputes which had reigned for many years were intirely pacified. The duke of Medina Sidonia, and the marquis of Cadiz, whose animosities were the principal source of this disorder, were commanded to quit the city, but allowed to live wherever else they pleased. At the same time their majesties quitted Toledo, they appointed Gomez Manrique corregidor or chief magistrate of that city, with instructions to look very closely to the behaviour of the inhabitants, and to prevent the reviving of those feuds which had already cost them so dear. The corregidor, who executed his office with great punctuality, suddenly called the principal inhabitants together, and, having put them in mind of the peace and happiness they had enjoyed under his government, and of the miseries to which they had been

*That pre-
late, after
various
struggles,
obliged to
submit to
their ma-
jesties.*

^r Mariana, & al.
^s Bernaldez Carvajal.

^t Hen. del Pulgar, Garibay, Ferreras.
^u Luc. Marin. Sicul. & al.

exposed for many years before, acquainted them with a design that had been formed to murder him in his bed, by the instigation of the archbishop; at which the whole assembly expressed the utmost abhorrence, caused such as were concerned in this black affair to be seized, and, upon conviction, executed, banished, or scourged, without the least trouble or disturbance^w. This disappointment in his design so provoked that proud prelate, that he suffered his troops to ravage all the country about Madrid, and solicited the king of Portugal to renew the war, promising to put all the places that he held into his hands^x. The king and queen, being informed of this offer, took a short resolution of keeping no farther measures with him. They sent orders to Don Alonso of Arragon, the king's brother, to block up Alcala; immediately forbade his vassals by proclamation to pay him any rent, or to have any correspondence with him; and demanded of the pope, that an administrator might be named to receive the revenues of the archbishopric, till, in virtue of a process in form, the see should be declared void. These steps had such an effect upon the turbulent archbishop, that he very speedily submitted, and, to obtain their majesties pardon, and the restitution of his temporalities, surrendered all the places he held in his hands. This year the peace was concluded with Lewis the Eleventh of France^y, notwithstanding all the representations made against it by Don Juan of Arragon.

A.D. 1478.

A peace concluded with Portugal, by which they were left in quiet possession of the kingdom.

The death of the king Don Juan of Arragon having obliged Don Ferdinand to make a tour into his hereditary dominions, the weight of the administration for that time was entirely supported by the queen Donna Isabella, who proceeded very roundly with such as still resisted, for there were very few now who disputed her authority. The war with Portugal still continued, and a great irruption was made in the spring into Galicia, where the enemy had some success at first, but were defeated in the end, and obliged to retire with loss; but they had better fortune in attacking a Castilian fleet which had been sent to the coast of Guinea, and returned from thence with an immense quantity of gold, of which not so much as a ship, or even a man, escaped. The bishop of Evora, who with a great body of troops, partly Portuguese and partly Cas-

^w Hernando del Pulgar, Ant. Nebriss. Zurita, Mariana, Ferreras. ^x Bernaldez Carvajal, Alonso de Palencia. ^y Memorias de Felipe de Comines.

tilian rebels, made an irruption into Estremadura, in order to disengage some of the fortresses in that country, which were still in the hands of the malecontents, and which the queen had caused to be besieged, and engaged by the grand-master of St. James, and defeated. The loss was not considerable on either side, but the greatest part of the Castilian malecontents were taken, a circumstance which made it of consequence, and enabled the infanta Donna Beatrix, the widow of Don Ferdinand, brother to the king of Portugal, and aunt to the queen of Castile, to prevail upon Don Alonso to allow her to treat with the queen Donna Isabella of a peace between two the crowns^z. The queen of Castile received this intelligence with great satisfaction; and, as soon as she could dispose things properly, had an interview with the infanta at Alcantara, where the principal articles of the peace were very soon adjusted; and though, upon the return of the infant, the king of Portugal testified some dislike to them, yet by the persuasions of the infanta, and of his-son-the prince of Portugal, he was brought at last to approve them, and they were accordingly signed on the 24th of September (B); A.D. 1479.
fo

^z Alonso de Palencia, Emanuel de Faria y Sousa, Bernaldez, Hern. del Pulgar, Ferreras.

(B) This is commonly called the peace of Alcacovas, from the place where it was concluded. It is generally believed that Don Alonso made this peace against his will, being forced to it by the remonstrances of his son the infant Don Juan on one side, and wearied into it by the solicitations of the infanta Donna Beatrix, duchess of Viseo, on the other. The terms are somewhat differently reported, but in the main appear to have been these: 1. The king of Portugal was to quit the title and arms of Castile, and their majesties were likewise to quit all pretensions upon Portugal. 2. He undertook not to marry the infanta Donna Joanna, or to give her any assistance. 3. The princess Donna Joanna was to make her choice, whether she would marry the infant Don Juan, then but a year old, or retire into a convent, and this in the space of six months. 4. The infant Don Alonso, son to the infant Don Juan, and grandson to the king of Portugal, was to marry, when of fit age, the infanta Donna Isabella of Castile. 5. The navigation of Guinea was reserved to the crown of Portugal, and that of the Canary Islands to Castile. 6. All who had followed the party of Portugal during the war were to be restored to their honours and estates, and their majesties were to grant a general pardon

Wise methods pursued for settling the interior affairs of their dominions.

so that now their majesties being acknowledged by all their neighbours, were left at full liberty to redress all the grievances, and remove all the inconveniences, that, during so many years of confusion, had crept into the government^a.

For that purpose they called a general assembly of the states at Leon, in the month of January, where several old laws were repealed, others explained, and many new ones made. The whole frame of administering justice was reviewed, amended, and extended, in such a manner, that persons of all ranks were brought within the reach of the law, and every town and village throughout their dominions had its proper magistrates assigned^b. The next thing that fell under their consideration was the repeal of the grants made by Henry IV. of crown lands and of pensions out of the royal revenues, upon which the deputies from the cities very strongly insisted; but the king and queen thought it was a matter that required much deliberation, and that some distinctions likewise ought to be made. The nobility were likewise of this opinion; and all possessed of these grants were obliged to exhibit them to their majesties confessor, who was vested with the power of allowing, annulling, or abridging them, as he thought proper; which power he exercised in such a manner, that thirty millions of maravedies annually were brought into the exchequer. The queen Donna Isabella ordered the first year's revenue to be distributed amongst the widows and children of such as had suffered in any degree for their service^c. Amongst the criminals that suffered in consequence of the new regulations, was Ferdinand Alarcon, whom the marquis of Villena had placed about the archbishop of Toledo, and who had been the principal author of the archbishop's ill conduct^d. Yet surely it was some impeachment of their justice, that while this

^a Alonso de Palencia, Carvajal, Garibay, Zurita, Mariana, Ferreras.

^b Hernando del Pulgar, Mayerne Turquet

^c Zurita, Anton. Nebriss. Hernando del Pulgar, Ferreras

^d Luc. Marin. Sicul.

pardon, without any exceptions. 7. The Portuguese were to restore what they possessed in Estremadura, and to evacuate that province. 8. All prisoners were to be released on both sides (1). the infanta Donna Isabella was to be given in hostage to Portugal, and the infant Don Alonso to Castile. 9. Lastly

(1) Hernando del Pulgar, Mariana, Ferreras.

fellow was sent to the gallows, the archbishop and the marquis were both restored to their majesties favour. But the queen shewed a laudable firmness in the case of a gentleman of Galicia, who was condemned to die for the murder of a public notary, who was the only person that could have proved upon him the forgery of a bond for a large sum. To save this man's life, an offer was made of forty thousand pistoles in gold, which, though at that time an object of attention even to a crowned head, was refused^c. Ambassadors were dispatched to Portugal, in order to adjust some disputes that had arisen about the terms of the peace, and to be present when the unfortunate infanta of Castile took the veil^f; notwithstanding which, however, things were not entirely adjusted till the next year. The Turks having taken Tarentum, and threatening the island of Sicily, the king Don Ferdinand was obliged to make a considerable naval armament for the defence of his hereditary dominions. About this time also the formidable tribunal of the inquisition was first introduced into Spain (C).

A.D. 1480.

All things were adjusted with the crown of Portugal in the beginning of the year, an accommodation which gave their majesties an opportunity of putting the new plan for the distribution of justice in execution; and they chose to begin with Galicia, which, of all the provinces in Spain, *Noble firmness in the restoring justice, after such an interruption.*

^c Bernald. Carvajal, Eman. de Faria y Sousa. ^f Mariana.

(C) Many apostacies to Judaism and Mohammedism having happened, the king and queen ordered their ambassador at the court of Rome to demand of pope Sixtus the Fourth a bull for the establishment of the inquisition. At first there were only three inquisitors named, and they had their residence in the convent of the friars preachers at Seville; but the number of persons they arrested quickly made it necessary to provide them another kind of establishment, in consequence of which they were removed to the fortress of Triana, where, in their first Auto de Fe, which was the next year, they actually burnt seven apostates, and punished in a less severe degree several others. The secrecy and severity with which they proceeded affrighted the Jews at Seville to such a degree, that great numbers of them retired into Portugal, and many into Barbary. Cardinal Turquemada, the first inquisitor-general, is said to have put two thousand persons to death for offences against the faith (1).

(1) Marian. Zurita, Annales de Sevilla,

wes in the worst condition. Don Hernando de Acensa was named governor, and Don Garcia Lopez de Chintilla chief justice. On their arrival at the city of St. James, the officers of the crown dissuaded them from opening their commissions, assuring them, that the whole country was full of little fortresses, the lords of which acted despotically, each in his little district; and that, if these united their forces, the army of the crown would not be in a condition to make any resistance. Don Hernando and Don Garcia answered, that the crown might be weak, but that God was omnipotent. They ordered proclamation to be made, that they were ready to do justice to all who demanded it, and against any who had done wrong; and they proceeded with such vigour, and with so little respect to persons, that fifteen hundred gentlemen, who were conscious of having deserved death, quitted their country and estates. The people in general, perceiving what benefits accrued to them from this commission, chearfully contributed their assistance; so that when two persons of great distinction were arrested, brought to a trial, and convicted of several atrocious crimes, they were executed without any commotion, although they offered prodigious sums to save their lives^g. The success that attended their endeavours in Galicia induced their majesties to take the same care of other provinces; so that, in much less time than could have been imagined, the peace of the kingdom was restored, and the people in many places chearfully returned to their labours, who, from injuries and ill usage, had retired into Portugal, or taken shelter even amongst the Moors^h. In the midst of the summer their majesties made a tour to Saragossa, Barcelona, and Valentia, where they procured the infant Don Juan to be received and acknowledged as their legal successor; and in this tour they regulated many things, and composed numberless feuds that had disturbed the public tranquillity for many yearsⁱ. At Barcelona, particularly, the states represented to him, that the country was very much distressed by a misfortune, for which their prudence could suggest no remedy. The deceased king Don Juan had made very large grants to several persons, some of them of great quality, upon a surmise that those who formerly held those lands had been guilty of

^g Hernando del Pulgar, Garibay, Ferrer.
Marin. Sic. Mariana.

ⁱ Zurita, & al.

^h Luc.

treason.

treason. Those who were thus dispossessed maintained that this charge was absolutely false, and disturbed the possession of such as had the king's grants, and kept the country thereby in a continual state of war. Don Ferdinand, having inquired into this matter, found that his father was in the wrong, and declared his willingness to restore the old families to their lands, if it was practicable. The inhabitants of the city made it so, for, by a large free gift, they enabled the king to satisfy both parties, by restoring estates, or giving such equivalents, as to the parties were most acceptable*. This year, the marquis of Cadiz gave rise to the war of Granada, by making an irruption into the territories of the Moors, and carrying off a great booty, in a time of full peace (D); which hostility induced the Moors, on the other hand, to surprise the town of Zahara, on the 27th of December, where, after having put the inhabitants in chains, they left a strong garrison.

A.D. 1481.

There happened a dispute between their majesties and the pope, in regard to the bishopric of Cuenca, which was of great advantage to the monarchy of Spain. The pope had a favourite nephew, upon whom he bestowed this bishopric, though the king and queen had recommended another person; a practice contrary to the laws of Spain, but which, in times of confusion, the popes had ventured upon with tolerable success. In the present case, the king ordered all his subjects to quit Rome, refused to admit a legate from the pope, and carried things so very high, that Sixtus the Fourth was not only obliged to abandon his nephew, and to bestow the bishopric as the king

The beginning of the war of Granada, and the incidents that rendered it general.

* Garibay, Zurita, Mariana, Ferreras.

(D) There was nothing the queen Donna Isabella had so much at heart as the expulsion of the Moors out of Spain, from the mixed principles of ambition and zeal for religion; but there was besides a personal and particular resentment towards the Moorish monarch of Granada, whom the Spanish writers stile Abolacen, or Abenhazan, but whom the Moorish writers stile Abul Hossien. This prince when their majesties demanded the

usual tribute paid to their predecessors at the time of his renewing the truce, which was probably a matter of form, and intended only to keep alive their pretensions, sent them word, that, in the same place where they coined money at Granada, they forged arms likewise, to prevent its being taken from them. That inability which hindered their expressing their resentment at that time, made it pierce the deeper.

T 4

desired;

desired ; but also to grant, to Ferdinand and his successors, by a bull, the right of nominating to all the archbishoprics and bishoprics in Spain, obliging himself and his successors to confirm them ^l. A common soldier, or, as some say, a subaltern officer, whose name was Juan de Ortega, undertook an exploit that immediately opened the war with the Moors ; for, going as a spy into their territories, he perceived that Malaga and Alhama were without garrisons, and might be easily surpris'd. He reported this circumstance to the marquis of Cadiz, who made it his choice to attack Alhama, a very pleasant town, seated in the midst of the mountains, at the distance of somewhat more than twenty miles from Granada, on the banks of the Rio Frio ; where, notwithstanding, are the finest warm baths in all Spain. This scheme was executed upon Thursday the 27th of February, and the fortress being surpris'd, all who were found therein were put to the sword. The Moors in the town made a very brave and obstinate defence, but at length they were forced to submit, and the place was abandoned to the pillage of the Christian soldiers, who, not satisfied with an immense quantity of gold and jewels, actually proceeded to make slaves of above three thousand inhabitants ^m.

*Zeal of the
queen Isabella in the
maintenance of
that war.*

This exploit alarmed Abul Hossain, king of Granada, who immediately assembled a body of three thousand horse and forty thousand foot, with which he invested the place in the beginning of March, and at the same time his subjects infested the Christian territories on every side, so that the war immediately became general ⁿ. Don Ferdinand, who was just returned from Arragon, took a resolution of relieving this new conquest ; and having ordered his forces to assemble at Antequera with a superior army, Abul Hossain, upon his approach, raised the siege ^o. Then the king retired into his own dominions, and went to meet the queen at Cordova, when the king of Granada, with a better army than before, invested the place a second time, and was very near taking it. When the news of this came to be canvass'd in their majesties councils, the queen Donna Isabella cut the debate short, by declaring, that Alhama must be relieved ; that she considered it as the first-fruits of their conquests, and that the time was come when the Mohammedans should be driven out of

^l Rainald, Baluz, Ferreras. ^m Garibay. Zurita, Ferreras.
ⁿ Hernando del Pulgar, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. ^o Luc.
Marin, Sicul.

Spain. The king, agreeable to this oracle, marched with eight thousand horse and ten thousand foot, and raised the siege a second time in the month of May. The queen pursued her design with invincible firmness; she raised forces, she filled magazines, she equipped squadrons, that every thing might be in readiness for the operations of war. In the mean time the king, with the principal nobility, marched to besiege Loja, a beautiful and rich town at the bottom of the mountains, about eighteen miles from Granada. Don Alonso of Arragon, duke of Villa Hermosa, assured the king, and the rest of the nobility, that this enterprize was not so easy as they imagined, and that their forces were not numerous enough to invest the place; but this advice was slighted, till, by a series of losses in a few days, they were obliged to raise the siege, and that with circumstances of dishonour as well as loss. The queen affected a deep concern for this miscarriage, though, as it agreed perfectly with her design, and kept the spirit of the war in full vigour, perhaps her grief was not so great as it appeared^p. The Moors, encouraged by this gleam of success, besieged Alhama the third time, under the command of prince Muly Abul Abdali, and were again very near taking the place, when Don Ferdinand, with a royal army, arrived on the 14th of August in its neighbourhood. Then the Moors retiring, he changed the garrison, and supplied all the magazines^q. This year was fatal to Don Alonso de Carillo, archbishop of Toledo, who had so much obliged and so much offended their majesties; to which see, in virtue of the bull before mentioned, they appointed Cardinal Mendoza. This year likewise they discovered that Lewis the Eleventh was endeavouring to marry his nephew, the king of Navarre, to the infanta of Castile, their competitor, whom the new king of Portugal Don Juan had brought out of her convent, and settled in a palace, where she was treated in a manner suitable to her birth^r. Nevertheless nothing more was done in favour of that most unfortunate prince.

The king Don Ferdinand, having sent a minister into Italy to solicit the princes and states of that country to live upon good terms with each other, and to unite all their forces against the Turk; this step was attended with such good effects, that the general tranquility was in a short

^p Garibay, Mariana, Ferreras. ^q Hernando del Pulgar, Zurita. ^r Bernaldez. Damian de Goes, ed. Nunez.

The young king of Granada, commonly called Mohammed Esabdil, but whose true name was Muly Abul Abdali, taken prisoner.

time restored; upon which the pope sent to compliment their majesties, and, of his free motion, granted them very large ecclesiastical supplies for their war against the Moors, that is, powers to levy money upon the clergy*. The campaign in the spring was by no means favourable to the Christians. They endeavoured to penetrate through a country full of woods and rocks, with which they were little acquainted, where they suffered prodigiously during their march; and being continually exposed to the insults of their enemies, they were at length compelled to retreat with great loss. The young king of Granada, Muly Abul Abdali (for at this time there was a schism in that country, his father Abul Hossain reigning at Malaga, and he in the proper capital), elevated with this success, and willing to signalize himself at the beginning of his reign by some great action, took the field with a large body of troops, and advanced, without any considerable resistance, as far Lucena, on the frontiers of Andalusia: having, in this excursion, acquired a prodigious booty, he began to take measures for his retreat, which he had scarce begun before the count de Cabra, with a small corps of choice forces, passed Lucena in pursuit of them. It happened very fortunately that the day was misty, so that when they came up with the Moors, and charged them, their strength could not be discerned. Some of the Moors crying out, that the whole forces of Andalusia were falling upon them, a sudden panic seized them, and the rout began almost as soon as the battle, those in the rear abandoning their booty and shifting for themselves, without striking a stroke†. The young king did all he could to encourage his troops, both by his words and his example, but to little purpose, till at length, his horse being killed, he endeavoured to make his retreat on foot; but two soldiers following him, and attacking him with pikes, he was quickly overcome and taken. They were on the point of killing him for his rich arms, when some of the officers came up and rescued him out of their hands; and the nephew of the count Don Diego de Cordova, without knowing his quality, sent him prisoner to Lucena‡. As soon as the king Don Ferdinand arrived at the city of Cordova, he sent to the count of Cabra to bring his royal prisoner thither, and the Moorish prince made an entry into that city very magnificent, with all the circumstances of respect

* Rainald. & al.
rita, & al.

† Hernando del Pulgar, &c.

‡ Zu-

that he could desire; after which the king sent him to the fortress of Porcuna, where he was likewise treated with all possible lenity. The king Don Ferdinand made an autumn campaign with a great army with little effect, except burning all the flat country about Granada, and taking and destroying the town of Taxara. Upon his return to Cordova, a treaty was set on foot for procuring the liberty of the captive monarch; upon which the council of Castile were much divided. Some, for various reasons, were for rejecting all proposals of that sort. The marquis of Cadiz and the count de Cabra were of the contrary opinion. They said, if the king was detained, the Moors would restore his father, and act with unanimity and vigour; whereas, if he was released, there would be a divided title, and the division of the Moors was the advantage of the Christians. The king referred both opinions to Donna Isabella, who decided in favour of the latter. By the treaty with the king's mother, the Christian prisoners in Granada were to be released, the king was to become vassal to the crown of Castile, to pay an annual tribute of twelve thousand crowns, and to give hostages for the due performance of this article. When the terms were settled, the king of Granada had an audience of Don Ferdinand; he bent his knee as he entered the room, and a second time about the middle of it, with which humiliation the king of Castile was displeased. He would have knelt to him when he came up, and have kissed his hand, which is the manner of doing homage; but Don Ferdinand prevented it, and told him, that he had treated with him as with a king, and that he was free from every thing but the engagements he had entered into in that character. He embraced, complimented him, and after having made him magnificent presents, sent him home*. The war, however, continued with Abul Hossain, who soon after drove out his son, and obliged him to retire to Almeria. The marquis of Cadiz, by a well-conducted enterprize, recovered the town and fortress of Zahara, upon which the king created him duke of Cadiz and marquis of that place*, though the Spanish historians seldom style him duke.

Their majesties sent their ambassadors into France, to demand the restitution of the county of Roussillon. The new king, Charles the Eighth, assured them that matter

* Luc. Marin. Sicul. Gariba, Zurita, Ferreras, Mariana.

* Hernando del Pulgar, Peter Martyr Angl. Mayerne Turquet.

should

*A great
alteration
in the man-
ner of mak-
ing war
against the
Moors.*

should be settled by ambassadors he had sent into Spain, and would have persuaded them to renew the treaty, which they declined. They insisted strongly that the late monarch Lewis the Eleventh, being convinced of their majesties right to the county in question, had actually dispatched orders for its restitution; which the regents had stopped upon his demise, and, as they refused to renew these orders, they desired leave to return home. Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella were then in Arragon, where they held an assembly of the three estates at Tarracon, and demanded supplies for the recovery of Roussillon, as well as for the war of Granada. The king Don Ferdinand remaining there longer than he expected, the queen set out for Toledo, and the campaign of the spring was made without any event of importance. But Donna Isabella took care to provide every thing necessary for continuing the operations against Granada with effect. She laboured more especially to provide artillery, with such provisions and beasts of carriage as would enable the troops to keep the field till winter: she took care also to have a good fleet at sea, to prevent any succours that might arrive from Barbary. These preparations demanded a very large expence; but she managed things with such frugality, that there was a very considerable saving out of what had been granted for these services, which she caused to be refunded, that the people might be sensible, though she desired the crown might be supported, she was very far from intending that the people should be impoverished. In June Don Ferdinand arrived at Cordova, attended by the cardinal of Spain, his brother Don Alonso, the marquis of Villena, and the flower of the Spanish nobility. Having entered the enemies country, he took Alora, Aloyzana, Sentenil, destroying all things up to the gates of Granada; after which exploits, the winter drawing on, he retired to Cordova. The war was now carried on in a more effectual manner than formerly. The operations of the campaign were settled by a general council of war, and the like councils were held frequently in the field; so that every step was taken with some design, the ultimate view of their operations being to facilitate the siege of Granada. Abul Hossain was sensible of this difference, and sent to desire peace almost upon any terms; to which

A. D. 1492.

7 Garibay, Luc. Marin. Sicul. Ferreras.
del Pulgar, Mariana.

7 Hernando

request

request Don Ferdinand returned such answers, as shewed plainly enough that he would grant none^a.

The queen Donna Isabella applied herself all the winter with her accustomed diligence to provide every thing that was necessary for continuing the war, and the fruits of her precaution quickly appeared. The monarch of Fez found himself so incommoded by the Spanish fleets that were cruizing upon his coasts, as to judge it necessary to try whether, by an embassy, he might not procure some ease to his subjects: accordingly he sent ambassadors with rich presents, and their majesties readily consented to a peace, upon his obliging himself not to give any succours to the king of Granada. The first enterprizes in the spring were not attended with much success; but the grand army, which assembled at Cordova, made a very different appearance from what it had done formerly. It consisted of twelve thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, but these were all choice troops, with a numerous train of artillery, tents, carriages, and all other necessities requisite for a long campaign; and their majesties saw with pleasure almost all the nobility of Spain ready to attend their monarch. The king's equipage was remarkably plain, and consisted but of a few persons: the king and queen took notice of this circumstance to some of the most sensible of the grandees, who immediately reduced their own. Their example had the desired effect, and, without the formality of the law, frugality became the fashion; and about the middle of April this army, the least pompous and the most formidable that had been seen in Spain, took the field. The true design was the siege of Malaga; but, before this could be undertaken, the king found it necessary to reduce Coin, Cartama, Ronda, and a multitude of other places, which cost a great deal of time, treasure, and blood. The Moors saw their destruction was coming on, and defended themselves like brave men who were become desperate. Don Ferdinand, with his usual prudence, granted favourable capitulations, and executed them with great punctuality, insomuch that multitudes of the Moors desired leave to settle in the heart of his dominions. He caused them to be sent thither at his own expence, and gave them houses, land, and money in their pockets. Many desired to be transported to Barbary; their request was granted, and many ships were employed in this service. Some of their captains threw the poor

Still more alterations made, and the military system very highly improved.

^a Zurita, &c. al.

wretches overboard, to get possession of their effects. Their majesties, informed of this barbarity, caused a strict enquiry to be made, executed the criminals, confiscated their estates, and transmitted the produce of them to the relations of those they had murdered. At the close of the campaign the king took the castles of Cambil and Alhabar, besides many more that were demolished; and though it was found impracticable to besiege Malaga, yet the reduction of seventy good towns, and a vast extent of country, rendered this campaign very glorious^b. The Moors, tired of their old king Abul Hossien, deposed him, and seated his brother Mohammed Al Zagel upon the throne, who had before forced his nephew Muly Abul Abdali to fly into Murcia, after having murdered most of his family^c. There was this year an insurrection at Saragossa against the inquisition, and, in the tumult, the principal inquisitor was murdered, who on that account was considered as a martyr and a saint, and the people were persuaded that miracles were wrought through his intercession.

A.D. 1425.

The town of Loja taken, and Muly Abdul Abdali's once more reduced.

The war with Granada was now so famous throughout Europe, that several persons of high quality and of martial disposition repaired thither from foreign countries, to have a share in so memorable an enterprize^d. The army assembled at Cordova in the month of April, and consisted of twelve thousand horse, forty thousand foot, six thousand pioneers, two thousand carriages and waggons for the service of the artillery, and fifty thousand horses and mules for the baggage, and other services. As soon as they took the field, they marched directly towards Loja, which was now become the seat of Abdul Abdali's sovereignty, who, out of zeal for his religion, had concluded an agreement with Mohammed Al Zagel, and renounced his alliance with their majesties of Castile^e. He behaved very bravely upon this occasion, gave the Christians great disturbance by perpetual sallies, till he was confined to his bed by his wounds, and at length capitulated upon very honourable terms, except that he became once more a vassal to Don Ferdinand^f. The Christians proceeded next to besiege Yllora, and to block up Mochin, places that were requisite towards forming the new fron-

^b Garibay, Hernando del Pulgar, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.

^c Luc. Marin. Sic. Zurita.

^d Garibay,

Zurita, Ferreras.

^e Luc. Marin. Sicul. Mariana.

^f Hernando del Pulgar.

tier; by which the Moors were to be shut up within a very small district. When these places were reduced, fortified, and sufficient garrisons left in them, the army proceeded once more into the plain of Granada, in order to burn and destroy the harvest; which service in a great measure they performed, notwithstanding they met with a vigorous opposition, and that the operations of the whole campaign cost a great deal of blood. The expence of the war was by this time risen so high, that it must have terminated here, at least for some years, if the queen had not found resources in the reputation she had acquired by her prudent management of the finances, which enabled her to raise the necessary supplies for the next campaign by loans from her own subjects^a.

A.D. 1486.

As the war against the Moors became every campaign more and more serious, the nobility were very careful in recruiting their respective corps in the winter, that they might be in a condition to attend the king early in the spring; and the great diligence of their majesties in procuring and providing all things effectually, prevented their losing any time when they were once assembled. The heavy rains that had fallen prevented any excursions in the winter season; but, by the five and twentieth of March, their majesties, who were at Cordova, assembled their army of twenty thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, with a corps of eight thousand pioneers, and other persons belonging to the artillery, and on the seventh of April they opened the campaign^b. Abul Abdali, after the loss of Loja, had been obliged to retire to the frontiers of Murcia, where he lived under their majesties protection. At first he had a great number of adherents, who followed his fortune; but, as his funds grew low, the number of his subjects lessened, till at length he saw himself in danger of being totally abandoned. This prospect made him so desperate, that he resolved to hazard himself, and the few that he had left, in an attempt upon Granada, in which city he knew he had a strong party. As desperate as this scheme seemed to be, it was nevertheless successful; he found entrance into the city, seized a part of it, and, being supported by a strong body of horse from Murcia, obliged his uncle to retire^c. In this situation things were when the king Don Ferdinand invested Velez, or Velez Malaga, a well-built, pleasant,

He, by the assistance furnished by the Christians, gains possession of Granada.

^a Mayerne Turquet, & al.
Ribay, Ferreras.

^b Hernando del Pulgar. Garibay.
^c Luc Marin. Sicul. Mariana.

and strong town, seated in a plain surrounded by mountains, within little more than a mile of the Mediterranean. The Moors of Mohammed Al Zagal's party advised him by all means to attempt the relief of this place. He assembled, with this view, a good corps of horse, and about twenty thousand foot, with which he entered the adjacent mountains, and from thence continually harrassed and disturbed the Christian army; and once made a bold attempt to seize their artillery, but without effect; so that at length the place capitulated, and the greatest part of the inhabitants submitted to their Catholic majesties. It was next resolved to besiege Malaga, one of the strongest and best peopled places still remaining to the Moors; but an attempt was first made to corrupt Hamet Zegri, who commanded a large body of Barbary Moors, in the strong castle of Gibralfaro, which commanded the town; but Hamet answered, that he was hired to defend the place, and he would never betray it; and that he hoped this answer would procure him favourable treatment, in case he should be compelled to surrender, after the best defence he should be able to make^k.

*The siege
and sur-
render of
Malaga,
with the
wonderful
conse-
quences
which at-
tend it.*

This city was invested completely both by land and sea on the 7th of May, not without very considerable loss on both sides. The Christians continued the siege with vigour for a long time, and the Moors defended themselves with great spirit and perseverance. In the mean time Mohammed Al Zagal collected all the troops he could, in order to afford them succours; but he had scarce marched out of Guadix, before they were attacked by Muly Abul Abdali, by whom the best part of them were cut in pieces^l. He sent a present of several horses with rich furniture, with some pieces of cloth of gold and silk, to their Catholic majesties, advising them to be very careful in preventing any sort of provisions from being carried into the place, where famine would soon force them to yield. At the same time he assured them, that when they were masters of Almeria, Baza, and Guadix, they might depend upon his putting Granada into their hands. A desperate Moor, however, was very near snatching this conquest out of their hands. He came out of Malaga in the night, and, going to the first guard of the Christian army, demanded to be carried to the marquis of Cadiz. When he was brought to him, he pressed to see their majesties, to whom

^k Hernando del Pulgar, Garibay, Ferreras.
rin. Sicul. Mayerne Turquet, Mariana.

^l Luc. Ma-

he said he would discover the means of entering the town. The marquis did not regard him much; but those who were about him carried him to the king's quarter; and brought him to the tent of Donna Beatrix de Bobadilla, who was playing at draughts with Don Alvaro of Portugal. The Moor, seeing Donna Beatrix very richly dressed, made no doubt but she was the queen, and that the person playing with her was the king; upon which, drawing his scymitar, he discharged a blow with all his force on Don Alvaro's head; Donna Beatrix fainting and falling down, another blow, that he aimed at her, reached no farther than her sleeve; and, before he had time to strike a third, he was dispatched by those who were in the place ^m. The king was asleep; but the queen, being in the next apartment, hearing the noise, came out, and was an eye-witness of this shocking scene. At length Malaga would have capitulated, but the king refused any other terms than their surrendering at discretion, to which they were at last forced to submit, and the town was accordingly surrendered on the 18th of August ⁿ. Many thousands were made slaves, some of the nobility having a hundred, others fifty, for their share, besides those that were sent as presents to the kings of Portugal and Naples ^o. A.D. 1487.

About the close of September their majesties returned to Cordova, and went afterwards to spend their winter at Saragossa.

After having obtained from the states of Arragon, Catalonia, and Valentia, considerable supplies, their majesties went into the kingdom of Murcia, where the army was to assemble, and which was far from being so considerable as it had been two years before, but numerous enough for the intended operations of the campaign. The king began by investing Vera, to the inhabitants of which he offered very fair terms; the terror they were under of being treated with the same severity that the inhabitants of Malaga had met with, induced them to submit, and their example was followed by many of the adjacent places. Mohammed Al Zagel, apprehending that Don Ferdinand meant to besiege Almeria, shut himself up in it with a thousand horse and two thousand foot; which saved that place indeed, but left the rest of the country open, so that Don Ferdinand reduced Huescar, Galera, Oric, Tijola, Cuellar, Benaumarel, and many other places of less con-

A new scheme of making war, by creating another frontier, by conquests of several places.

^m Anton. Neb. & al.

ⁿ Bernaldez, Garibay.

^o Hernando del Pulg. Ferreras.

A.D. 1488.

*The siege
and reduc-
tion of Ba-
za, and the
submission
thereupon
of Moham-
med Al Za-
gel.*

sequence; into which having put proper garrisons, the army marched into the plains of Baza, where the scene was changed; the Moors, instead of submitting, making a most vigorous resistance; insomuch that the army suffered great loss, and, amongst other persons of distinction, Don Philip of Navarre, natural son to Don Carlos, prince of Viana, was killed upon the spot. The king Don Ferdinand, after having given the necessary directions for the security of the frontiers, returned to Valladolid. After his departure, Mohammed Al Zagal recovered several places. He laboured all that was in his power to revive the spirits of his nation, and to prevail upon them to unite firmly in defence of their religion, their country, themselves, and their posterity, though to little effect.

It was the great prudence of the queen to observe an exact proportion between the means she employed, and the ends which she proposed. This appeared very conspicuously in the difference between the army assembled in this and the preceding year; the former was full seventy, the latter did not exceed twenty thousand men. The king joined them as soon as they were formed, and directed his march towards Baza, which, though not the greatest, was by far the strongest and best situated place in the possession of Mohammed Al Zagal. That prince, being very sensible of its importance, threw into it two of the best officers he had, with three thousand horse and five thousand foot; besides, the fortifications were in perfect good order, and their magazines of all sorts well supplied. As the alcaide knew the importance of the place, and had an army rather than a garrison under his command, he defended the suburbs and the posts beyond them as long as it was possible, so that a great many men were lost before the place could be invested, or the siege formed. When these difficulties were overcome, the ground was found so uneven, and the lines of such great extent, that the besiegers could not avoid several unlucky impressions made by the vigorous sally of the besieged, notwithstanding that the king, by posting an ambuscade, cut off five hundred Moors at once. The summer advancing, and the heat being very intense, the men were much dispirited, and diseases prevailed in the camp; however, a large supply arriving from the queen revived them for the present, and her majesty having caused a track to be cut through the

‡ Zurita, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.

mountains,

mountains, for the mules that were laden on one side, and another for those that returned empty on the opposite side, the convoys arrived regularly ^q. The grand sultan of Egypt having sent ambassadors to the pope, to threaten retaliation on the Christians settled in his dominions, if their majesties continued the war against Granada, the pope sent them to the king; upon which a great party in his council advised him to raise the siege. This step he deferred till he had the queen's opinion; which being directly contrary to that advice, the ambassadors were dismissed with presents ^r. But, after all, it would have been certainly raised, from the obstinate resistance of the Moors, if the queen had not gone to the camp in person with a great reinforcement: This had a double effect; it raised the spirits of the army, which were sunk to a great degree; and it made such an impression on the besieged, that the alcaide offered to capitulate ^s. The king gave him as good terms for his garrison as he could desire, and still better for himself; so that he entered into his service, and undertook to negotiate with Mohammed Al Zagal the surrender of Guadix and Almeria without the fatigue of sieges, in which negotiation, to the great astonishment of Moors and Christians, he prevailed ^t. In this transaction the Moorish prince behaved with great prudence and magnanimity. He had consented to the surrender of Baza, upon a representation that it was impossible to defend it longer: he knew that Guadix and Almeria were not near so tenable; and he knew also that he had no succours or assistance to expect. He made, therefore, the best terms possible for his people, but he refused to make any for himself; all the favour he desired was, that he might have the honour of presenting the keys of Almeria to Don Ferdinand in person, a request which was very readily granted. The king, having appointed his uncle Don Henry Henriquez governor of Baza, marched from thence with part of the army over the mountains; while the queen, with the other part, took another route. When they drew near Almeria, Mohammed Al Zagal marched out to meet them at the head of a corps of cavalry. Some of the nobility in the Christian army advanced officiously to receive him, and persuaded him, when the king was in sight, to dismount, and to present

^q Luc. Marin. Sicul. Anton. Nebriss.

Pulgar, Pet. Martyr Angl.

Mayerne Turquet.

^r Hernando del^s Garibay, Ferreras, Mariana,^t Hernando del Pulgar.

A.D. 1489.

*Another
campaign
against
Granada,
in which
the whole
country ad-
jacent is
destroyed.*

the keys on foot; for which advice Don Ferdinand reprimanded them severely. He desired the Moorish monarch to remount his horse; and, having placed him by his side, rode with him into the city, and treated him with all possible kindness and respect. He granted the inhabitants the same terms that had been given to those at Baza, kept his Christmas there with great solemnity, and, reviewing his army on the last day of the year, found that he had lost twenty thousand men in a campaign of seven months^u. But of these the far greater part died of diseases.

In the beginning of the succeeding year, Mohammed Al Zagel put the king in possession of Guadix, and prevailed upon a multitude of other places to submit, particularly the country of Alpujarros, which otherwise from its situation it would have been very difficult, if not impracticable, to reduce. The king, in return, made him a present of the best town and one of the finest districts in that country, with a promise that if the two thousand peasants, who occupied his villages, did not pay him four millions of marvadies annually, the sum should be made up out of the royal treasury. He farther added, that if at any time he desired to retire into Barbary, he should have free licence, with all his family, and have the full value of his estate given him in ready money^w. The alcaide of Baza, and other Moors, who had deserved well upon this occasion, were rewarded with like generosity^x. The next great affair that came upon the carpet was summoning Muly Abul Abdali to surrender Granada, according to his promise. His answer was, that their majesties had put it out of his power; that the number of the inhabitants were swelled to three-times what they were at the time of his making that promise, by their reducing all the places round about, and that they would destroy him upon the least suspicion of such a design^y. Their majesties then returned to Seville, where they consented to the marriage of Donna Isabella to the infant Don Juan of Portugal; and, as soon as their domestic affairs would permit, Don Ferdinand took the field with a considerable army, with which he ravaged the plain of Granada, where the Moors gave him great opposition, and behaved very gallantly^z.

*Mohammed
Al Zagel
desires
leave to
retire into
Barbary
and re-
serves it.*

Amongst those who distinguished themselves in this expedition were Mohammed Al Zagel and the marquis de Villena; the former by a stratagem surpris'd a very strong

^u Luc. Marin. Sicul. Anton. Nebriss.
Marin. Sicul.

^y Ferreras.

^w Zurita.

^x Luc.
^z Mayerne Turquet.

castle;

castle; the latter, seeing his servant attacked by six Moorish cavaliers, advanced alone to his assistance, killed two of them, put the other four to flight, and brought off his wounded servant, though he was himself disabled in the right arm. The king was recalled from this campaign by the total revolt of the Alpujarros, and by commotions in almost all his new conquests; so that he was forced to turn the Moors out of Baza and Guadix, and, with great difficulty, pacified the people in the Alpujarros. Towards the close of the year, Mohammed Al Zagel came to him, and, having kissed his majesty's hand, desired his permission to retire to Barbary with such as were content to follow his fortunes. The king complied with his request, gave him a ship with a passport, and though it was very inconvenient to him, since he borrowed the money, paid him the full value of his estate ^a. After his departure, he gave the government of Alpujarros to the marquis of Villena ^b. Before the expiration of the year, their majesties received two mortifications; one was the recovery of several places out of their hands by Muly Abul Abdali king of Granada; the other, that the republic of Genoa having offered to submit to them, the situation of their affairs would not allow them to receive that state under their protection. A D. 1490.

The queen having taken the necessary care for an ample supply of every thing the ensuing campaign might demand, the king Don Ferdinand took the field before the end of the month of April with an army of upwards of seventy thousand men. Finding, that, in spite of their late chastisement, the inhabitants of the Alpujarros had supplied the city of Granada with vast quantities of provisions, he transferred the war thither, and punished them indeed very severely, but not without great loss, the king of Granada sending into that mountainous country a numerous corps of troops ^c. He next sacked all the plain of Granada, and completely invested the place, in which there were not fewer at this time than one hundred thousand souls. The queen Donna Isabella repaired to the camp, with the rest of the royal family, and were very conveniently lodged in the tent of the marquis of Cadiz, which stood next to the king's ^d. One night the queen complaining to one of her maids, that the candle offended her eyes, and hindered her from sleeping, she removed it

At length the capital of Granada is invested and besieged by their majesties

^a Zurita.

^b Luc. Marin. Sicul.

^c Ferreras.

^d Anton. Nebriss.

into into a corner, and both of them falling asleep, the tent took fire, by which the lives of the whole royal family were endangered, and the camp thrown into the utmost confusion. The king, half-naked, mounted on horseback, and, having collected a great body of cavalry, posted them in the avenues leading from the city, and so covered the camp till the fire could be extinguished ^e. The queen reflecting upon this accident, and resolving to prevent the like for the future, formed a very extraordinary project. She caused, in a convenient place, two long and broad streets to be drawn in the form of a cross, and as there were great quarries in the neighbourhood, the pioneers quickly constructed low but convenient houses of stone. As soon as the army comprehended the queen's design, they assisted in it so cheerfully, that there quickly appeared a regular and very considerable town, to which they would have given the name of Isabella; but the queen expressly commanded it should be called Santa Fe, that is, Holy Faith; and it has been since honoured with the name of a city ^f.

After a tedious siege and gallant defence, the king and people capitulate.

The construction of this place, if it did not occasion, at least it accelerated, the reduction of Granada; for the court and the principal nobility being perfectly well lodged, provisions of all sorts were brought in great abundance to the new town, while famine raged in the city ^g. One must be void of humanity not to feel for these unhappy people, who perceiving plainly, by this disposition of things, that they had nothing to hope, abandoned themselves to all the frantic expressions of despair, sometimes crowding their mosques, and, with loud exclamations, imploring the assistance of their prophet; at other times running in troops to the burial places of their ancestors, weeping and lamenting over their tombs, and regretting that a fate worse than death was appointed for themselves. Sometimes flocking about the Alhambra, or palace, they loaded their king with execrations, and imputed to him a calamity of which none had so deep a sense as himself; and sometimes rushing out upon the Christians with a fury that took from them the sense of danger, and the capacity of avoiding it. At last, like wild beasts in the toil, they sunk, through mere weariness, into a kind of calm, of which their chiefs taking advantage, proposed, and obtained their consent, to make the best capitulation they

^e Hern. del Pulgar;

^f Hern. del Pulg.

^g Les Delices d'Espagne, p. 512.

could obtain, which, after some time spent in negotiation, was at length signed by the plenipotentiaries on both sides, on the 25th of November ^b (H). It was no sooner signed, and the hostages given, than the people repented, and mutinied. Their king, who had expected some such commotion, had fortified himself so strongly in the Alhambra, or

^b Zurita.

(H) The kingdom of Granada was already shrunk within the walls of that city, which had formerly occupied a large proportion of the south of Spain, and was for a time the most flourishing of all its numerous principalities, as having under its jurisdiction thirty-two cities and ninety-seven walled towns, exclusive of innumerable villages, the inhabitants of which paid an annual tribute of seven hundred thousand crowns in gold. In its most flourishing state, the city contained upwards of sixty thousand houses, and four hundred thousand inhabitants. In the low condition to which it was then fallen, it was still formidable; and therefore their majesties very prudently granted easy and moderate terms, that they might once gain possession of this last fortress of the Moors, knowing well that time and accident, the passage once opened, would accomplish all their purposes (1). The substance then of the capitulation was (2), that the king and commons of Granada should deliver that city, with all its gates, fortresses, towers, and other dependencies, with the arms and

captives then in their possession, on the 6th of January; the inhabitants to continue in possession of their houses, goods, and inheritances, and to preserve the free exercise of their religion, with permission to live under their own laws, and to have their differences decided by their own judges: those who were desirous of retiring to Barbary, were to have passports for that purpose, with free licence to dispose of their effects, or, if they made it their choice, to carry them with them. As to the king, he was to have an ample seignory in the Alpujarros, and a certain number of vassals; but if this should not prove satisfactory, he might also demand leave to pass into Africa, and likewise receive the value of the territory which he left behind him. The Jews were absolutely excluded from this capitulation, because their majesties were determined to have the houses they occupied for Christian inhabitants, and the Moors had no such affection for them as to insist upon their being comprehended; though, as the reader will see in the text, it would have been of little consequence if they had,

(1) Hernando del Pulgar, Anton. Nebriſſ. Luc. Marin. Sicul.

(2) Antigüedad y Excelencias de Granada, par Franc. Bermudez de Pedraza.

palace, that he could not be forced. Having given notice to Don Ferdinand of his situation, his majesty immediately sent a letter, directed to the people, in which he told them, that if they did not disperse, and behave themselves quietly, the four hundred hostages they had given should be instantly put to the sword, the provisions they received daily withheld, and themselves sold for slaves, as the people had been at Malaga. Upon this declaration, and the persuasions of their king, they retired in the utmost dejection, to those which they still called their houses ^l. However, to prevent any thing of the like nature, the king gave their majesties notice, that, instead of the 6th of January, fixed by the capitulation, he would deliver up the place on the second ^k. This year the infanta Donna Isabella returned a widow from Portugal, her husband the prince Don Juan dying of a fall from his horse in the sports celebrated on occasion of their wedding, to the inexpressible sorrow of both courts ^l. Their majesties also concluded an alliance with the emperor Maximilian, as also a treaty of marriage for their daughter Joanna with the archduke Philip; and another alliance with king

A.D. 1491.

Henry VII. of England, comprehending a like treaty of marriage between Arthur prince of Wales, and the infanta Donna Catalina, or Catharine; both which important transactions passed in the new town of Santa Fe, to the inexpressible satisfaction of their catholic majesties, who, about this time, understanding that the president and counsellors of the chancery at Valladolid had admitted an appeal in a temporal cause to the court of Rome, dismissed them all from their employments ^m.

*The king
Don Ferdi-
nand in
great dan-
ger of be-
ing assassi-
nated.*

On the 2d of January, pursuant to his own proposition, the king of Granada disposed all things for delivering up that capital to their catholic majesties, who, on their parts, gave the necessary orders for taking possession of it, with all the precautions, as well as all the solemnity possible. For this purpose the count de Tendilla, with cardinal Mendoza and Don Gutiero de Cardenas, were sent with a strong body of troops into the city to take possession of the alhambra, where they first elevated the banner of the cross upon the principal tower, and then the standard of the king and St. James on the other two; after which precautions their majesties entered the place, and received

^l Luc. Marin. Sicul. ^k Hern del Pulgar.
^m Lord Bacon's History of Henry VII.

^l Mariana.

the submission of the inhabitants^a. Thus Granada returned into the possession of the Christians, after it had been held by the Moors seven hundred and seventy-nine years, two months, and nine days. As for the unfortunate monarch of the Moors, he retired to Pulchena in the Alpujarros, where the king gave him a very considerable estate^c. While their majesties resided at Granada they published an edict, requiring all the Jews, who were not disposed to embrace the Christian faith, to quit their dominions in six months; and notwithstanding all possible methods were used by that unfortunate nation to prevent the execution of this law, they were obliged to quit Spain at the time^d. Mariana has carried the calculation of those who retired into foreign countries, to eight hundred thousand souls^e. Those who speak with greater moderation, fix them at thirty thousand families; and it is said, that they carried with them immense riches, of a great part of which they were plundered in the countries to which they retired. Politicians are much divided in their sentiments upon this measure. At this juncture, Christopher Columbus, after many difficulties and unwearied applications, signed the contract with the queen Donna Isabella, in the city of Santa Fé, on the 17th of April, for the discovery of new countries, which he accomplished with so much glory to himself, and with such advantages to the crown^f of Castile; the whole expence of this armament amounting to no more than seventeen thousand ducats; for obtaining which sum the queen would have pledged her jewels, if the comptroller of her household had not advanced it without taking any such security. On the death of pope Innocent VIII. who had solemnized with great magnificence at Rome the reduction of Granada, the famous Don Rodrigo Borgia, who was a native of Valentia, ascended the pontifical throne, and assumed the name of Alexander the Sixth^g. In the autumn their majesties made a tour into Arragon, and from thence into Catalonia, where, in the city of Barcelona, Don Ferdinand ran an unexpected and imminent danger of losing his life; for having, according to his custom, given a long audience to all who desired it, on Friday the 7th of December, as he was passing down the stairs from his apartment, an idiot, whose name was Juan de Canamares, attempted to stab him with a knife over the shoulder, but

A.D. 1492.

^a Mariana.
General de Hispania,^c Zurita.^d Zurita.^e Garibay.^f Mariana.^g Historia

luckily cut only his ear, and penetrated a little way into his chest. Those who were about the king would have dispatched him; but his majesty prevented his being slain; and understanding the truth, that the poor creature fancied he should succeed him in the throne, he added to the sentence passed upon him, importing that his body should be torn to pieces with pincers, and then burnt to ashes, that he should first be strangled.

*Charles
VIII. of
France
obliged to
restore the
counts of
Roussillon.*

Charles VIII. of France, having in view the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, where the people were excessively discontented, was inclined to cut short the negotiation that had been for some time depending with the crown of Spain, and to promise at least the restitution of the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne; and upon this a treaty was signed and sworn to on the 19th of January¹. That monarch, however, had no real intention to restore these territories, but endeavoured all he could to frustrate and elude the engagements he had contracted; but when Don Ferdinand began to assemble troops on the frontiers, and shewed a resolution to attempt the recovery of them by force, Charles thought fit to deliver them up; so that their majesties had the satisfaction of entering Perpignan in splendor, which had been withheld from them many years². The duke of Cadiz having breathed his last in the preceding year, their majesties thought it more expedient to give the title of duke of Arcos to his son Don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, together with a certain number of vassals, and an annual pension, than to suffer the port and island of Cadiz to remain in the hands of that or any other family³. From the same principle the king Don Ferdinand prevailed upon the pope to fortify his title to the new discovered countries as far as was in his power, and, in virtue of his own, united to the crown the grand-masterships of several military orders, which was a seasonable and important acquisition⁴. The nobility and commons of the kingdom of Naples sent over deputies to propose to the king the uniting that to his other crowns; and they were very desirous of remaining under the dominion of the house of Arragon; declaring that they were quite tired of their present monarch, and had no hopes at all of his son; but the king, having heard patiently all they had to say, told them, that the ties of blood restrained him from attempting any thing to the prejudice of their

¹ Mayerne, Turquet.
rin, Sicul. ² Rainald.

³ Mariana,

⁴ Luc. Ma-

sovereign, even supposing it might be done with justice; and that wherever they applied, they might possibly find a change of masters, without any alteration of circumstances¹. Muly Abul Abdali, unable to remain a private man, and as unable to attempt any thing with success against their catholic majesties, resolved to retire into Barbary; and the king not only permitted him freely to transport himself and his family, but paid him also the full value of his estate in ready money².

A.D. 1493.

The king Don Alonso of Naples, who had lately succeeded his father Don Ferdinand, demanded and received assurances of succour from the king Don Ferdinand, in case he should be attacked. The last mentioned monarch having received ambassadors from the king of France, to desire that he would grant some ports in the island of Sicily, for the war he intended to make against the Turks, and for asserting his right to the crown of Naples, Don Ferdinand promised to send an answer by ministers of his own. He did so, and suggested to him, that the war against Naples was very unjust, as being grounded on a very indifferent title bequeathed to him, and not to punish any insult against himself, or to assert any claim either of his own or from his ancestors; and that he would find, whatever it might be in the beginning, this war would prove fatal in its progress, and ruinous in its consequences. But notwithstanding these remonstrances were supported by some of the ablest ministers in France, Charles would not desist from his expedition; upon which Don Ferdinand made the necessary dispositions for assisting his allies³. About this time, perceiving that, from a spirit of ease and luxury, the nobility began to leave off the use of horses, and ride mostly upon mules, he forbid the use of those creatures for the saddle by any, except ecclesiastics and women, under very severe penalties; otherwise the valuable breed of horses in Spain would in all probability have been lost⁴.

He resolves to undertake an expedition against Naples, though Don Ferdinand sent an embassy to dissuade him from it.

A.D. 1494.

The king of France having made a public entry into Rome, and obliged the pope to submit to him, Don Antonio de Fonseca, ambassador from their catholic majesties, presented to him their letter, upon which he promised to give him an audience at Veletri⁵. There, in a very full assembly of the princes and nobility, Fonseca declared to him, in the name of Don Ferdinand, that hav-

The latter declares himself free from all engagements in the last treaty.

¹ Zurita.

² Mariana.

³ Zurita.

⁴ Mariana.

⁵ Hern. del Pulgar.

ing reserved to himself, in the peace of Roussillon, the right of taking up arms in case the dominions of the church were attacked, and knowing nothing at that time of any claim pretended by him to the crown of Naples, he looked upon himself as absolved from all engagements, and would not fail to repel his unjust pretensions by force of arms. To convince the French king that his master was in earnest, he pulled that treaty out of his bosom, and tore it before his face; for which affront some of the French lords would have killed him, but the king prevented it. Don Alonso of Naples perceiving that a strong spirit of disaffection prevailed amongst his subjects, who, at the same time, pretended to have a high esteem for his son the duke of Calabria, resigned the crown to him, and retired into Sicily. This step did not prevent the reduction of the best part of the kingdom by the French; but while they pushed their conquests, Don Ferdinand negotiated a league, and formed such an army behind them, under the command of the marquis of Mantua, as obliged them to a precipitate and hazardous retreat. He likewise sent over to Naples the famous Don Gonzales de Cordova, with a good fleet and a strong body of forces, with which, though unable to meet the French army in the field, yet, being bred in the Moorish way of fighting, he made use of so many stratagems, and laid so many ambuscades, that the French were afraid to stir out of their garrisons. The king went in person into Arragon, in order to obtain the necessary supplies for attacking France through Biscay and Roussillon^d. This year proved fatal to cardinal Mendoza, archbishop of Toledo, who was succeeded by father Francis Ximenes, who will make a great figure in the future part of this history; and, towards the close of the year died Don Alonso, king of Naples^e.

A.D. 1495.

The double marriages between the archduke Philip and the infanta Donna Joanna, and the infant Don Juan and the prince's Margaret.

The war with France on the side of Roussillon continued, though the operations of it were not very remarkable. However, Don Gonzales de Cordova having expelled the French out of the kingdom of Naples, and thereby acquired the glorious title of the Great Captain, induced Charles VIII. to propose a suspension of arms to Don Ferdinand, which was readily accepted^f. The reciprocal marriages, which had been some years before proposed to their catholic majesties, now took place; and the infanta Donna Joanna was sent on board a strong squadron into

^d Ferreras.

^e Hist. du Cardinal Ximenes, par M. Esprit Flechier, Eveque de Nismes.

^f Garibay.

Flanders, to espouse the archduke Philip; which Squadron was to return with the archduchess Margaret, who was to espouse Don Juan prince of Asturias^z. The other marriage was also perfected between Arthur prince of Wales and the princess Catharine; but it was agreed that the consummation of the marriage should be put off till his royal highness had attained the age of fourteen. On the 7th of October died Don Ferdinand II. king of Naples, who was succeeded in the throne by his uncle Don Frederic; and that prince immediately demanded the assistance of Don Ferdinand, assuring him that his dominions and his person should be always at his devotion^b. At this time, as Zurita assures us, pope Alexander VI. bestowed the title of Catholic upon Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, though the Spanish writers make no scruple of bestowing on them this appellation throughout their whole reignⁱ. The king Don Ferdinand, at the request of the French court, thought it convenient for his affairs to suffer a new suspension of arms to take place, which might afford him an opportunity of taking the proper measures to bring the great designs he had formed in his own mind to bear; yet he was not so much taken up with these political meditations as not to have his eyes open to all that happened in the countries adjacent, or not to improve any event that might be turned to his advantage. An instance of this circumspection appeared in relation to Africa, where the kings of Fez and Tremecen, after a long war for the acquisition of the city of Melilla, which had extremely weakened both their forces, at length agreed that it should be, with all its district, left uninhabited, and serve in that respect as a common boundary to both their territories. The king Don Ferdinand had no sooner intelligence of this agreement, than he sent orders to the duke de Medina Sidonia to use the utmost secrecy and dispatch in surprising that place; which commission, notwithstanding the difficulties that attended it, he executed with so much spirit and address, that, landing five thousand men, he took possession of the place, and having put it in a state of defence, took such effectual measures for re-peopling it, that it was in a very little time out of all danger of being recovered by the infidels^k.

The pleasure which the king received from hence was, in some measure, however, qualified by the news of a

A.D. 1496.

^z Zurita. ^b Mariana.

ⁱ Annal. Arragon.

^k Hern.

*Death of
the infant
Don Juan,
and marriage of the
infanta
Donna Isabella.*

dispute that had happened between the garrison and the inhabitants of Perpignan; in composing of which the governor Don Henry Henriquez received a blow upon the temples, of which he immediately died upon the spot¹. As to the family affairs of their catholic majesties, they suffered, in the compass of this year, very considerable alterations, and such as might have affected them alternately with the warmest sensations of pleasure, and with the deepest anxiety and regret. The return of their fleet from Flanders brought the princess Margaret of Austria into Spain, who was conducted in great ceremony to Burgos, where their catholic majesties then were, in order to her marriage with the prince of Asturias; and where, on the 4th of April, they received the nuptial benediction from the hands of the archbishop of Toledo^m. The king of Portugal not long after discovered the reason of his declining to accept the infanta Donna Maria, with which their majesties were somewhat offended, by demanding the infanta Donna Isabella, who, during her widowhood, had passed her time in acts of piety and devotion. Their majesties readily yielded to his request; but it was with some difficulty that the infanta could be brought to hear of a second marriage. At length, however, the treaty was concluded, and the king and queen conducted her towards the frontiersⁿ; but before the marriage was concluded, they received advice that the prince Don Juan was fallen ill at Salamanca, to which city the king his father returned, in whose arms that hopeful prince expired on the 4th of October^o. His death being concealed from Donna Isabella, the marriage was celebrated between the king of Portugal and the infanta. The princess dowager of Asturias, being left big with child, miscarried soon after of a daughter, by which all the remaining hopes they had of that marriage were totally extinguished^p.

*The death
of that
princess,
then queen
of Portugal,
on a visit
to her pa-
rents.*

In the succeeding year the king and queen of Portugal made a visit to their parents at Toledo, where they were entertained with equal affection and magnificence, and received the homage of the states of Castile; after which they proceeded to Saragossa, and were in like manner acknowledged by the states of Arragon^q. If this event, in some measure, consoled their catholic majesties for the death of their only son, their satisfaction lasted not long;

¹ Zurita. ^m Pet. Mart. Angl. ^a Bernaldez. ^o Pet. Mart. Angl.
^p Zurita. ^q Ferreras.

for, on the 23d of August, the young queen, being brought to bed of a son at Saragossa, expired an hour after^r. This year the king concluded a peace with Lewis XII. soon after his accession to the throne of France^s. He likewise sent, in conjunction with his son-in-law the king of Portugal, ambassadors to Rome, to admonish the pope of his duty, to require him to mind his family less and his pontifical dignity more^t.

A. D. 1498.

The first care of their catholic majesties was to cause the young prince Don Michael to be acknowledged heir of Castile; and the like care was taken in Portugal^u. About this time it was that king Ferdinand concluded with Lewis XII. a secret treaty for the division of the kingdom of Naples between them; the motives to which are not very clearly expressed by any of the Spanish historians. Don Frederick had refused to marry his son to the princess Joanna, his catholic majesty's niece; and having made overtures of an alliance to the king of France, he had transmitted to him Don Ferdinand's letters, an affront which the latter could never forgive. The former conjecture seems to be in some measure confirmed by the return of the queen dowager Donna Joanna of Naples, with her daughter, into Spain, where the king appointed them the city of Valentia for their residence, with an establishment suitable to their rank and near relation to him^x. Their majesties being informed, during their residence in the kingdom of Granada, that the greatest part of the inhabitants held secret intelligence with their countrymen in Barbary, invited them to make descents upon the coast, favoured them in these predatory expeditions, and shared with them in the booty; upon which it was thought a necessary resolution to oblige these people to embrace the Christian religion, or to embark for Africa. The archbishops of Toledo and Granada were charged with the execution of this project, in which they both laboured with equal diligence, though by very different methods. The primate had a high and hasty spirit, though with very great abilities; the other prelate, not at all inferior to him in the last-mentioned quality, was remarkably mild and gentle, applying himself chiefly to the conversion of the more learned among the Mohammedans, upon whom he made great impressions by the strength of his arguments

General conversion of the Moors in the new conquests by the archbishops of Toledo and Granada.

^r Pet. Mart. Angl. ^s Zurita. ^t Mariana. ^u Caribay.
^x Hern. del Pulgar. ^y Pet. Mart. Angl.

and

A.D. 1499.

This appears to be but insincere, from a general insurrection.

and the smoothness of his conduct. Between both, and by the assistance of the civil arm, the people in general were converted, or said to be converted; insomuch that on the 18th of December, the principal mosque was consecrated, and turned into a Christian cathedral ^r.

The next year it plainly appeared, that these sentiments were not so general or sincere as they had been represented; for the greatest part of the inhabitants of the Alpujarros threw off the Spanish yoke, and sent agents into Barbary to demand the assistance of their countrymen, in support of a war grounded solely upon religion; but, before they had time to bring their affairs into any tolerable order, the king Don Ferdinand arrived at Granada, and, marching from thence with a formidable army, quickly reduced these unhappy people, notwithstanding the natural strength of that country which they inhabited; so that, on the 8th of March, they made a solemn submission, consented to pay the sum of fifty thousand ducats, by way of fine, for their late insurrection, and to give thirty-two hostages for their future obedience ^z. The king Don Frederick of Naples, having some intelligence of the storm that was ready to burst upon himself and his dominions, addressed himself with great humility to Don Ferdinand, offered to conclude the marriage which he had before refused, and to put his dominions under his protection; to which overtures the king, for reasons that will hereafter appear, returned only general answers ^a. In the month of May, the Great Captain, with a strong fleet, sailed to Sicily, under pretence of defending that island from the Turks, but in reality to execute the treaty of partition concluded with the crown of France; towards which, even in the compass of this year, he made no inconsiderable progress. The archduchess Donna Joanna being delivered on the 24th of February of a son, who was baptized by the name of Charles, in respect to the memory of the duke of Burgundy, his grandfather, the tidings were received with great joy in Spain ^b, where on the 20th of July, the young prince Don Michael breathed his last; an event which did not hinder the conclusion of the marriage of Don Manuel king of Portugal with the infanta Donna Maria, who was first offered him, the sister of his former wife, and aunt of the young prince, whose death we have just mentioned ^c.

^r Pet. Mart: Angl.Pulg. ^b Pet. Mart. Angl.^z Ferreras.^c Bernaldez.^a Hern. del

The disturbances that had hitherto happened in the new conquests were of little consequence in comparison of those that broke out this year, either from the chagrin and obstinacy of the Moors, or from the avarice and severity of those appointed to govern them. The places that revolted were chiefly castles in the mountains, where the people depended partly on the advantages arising from their situation, and partly on the strength of those forts. As to the latter, they were quickly convinced of their error, by their being almost as quickly reduced as they were invested. However, they began to entertain strong prejudices in favour of the former, from several advantages they gained over the Christian troops. To repair these mischiefs, the king Don Ferdinand gave orders for disposing his troops in such a manner, that all intercourse with the people in the Alpujarros was rendered impracticable. He then marched against them in person with a formidable army, and opened the passages as he went, so as to render the entrance of troops into it much more easy than before. This conduct took from the Moors all courage; and therefore they offered to submit, if the king would permit them to retire into Barbary. A great part of the council thought a compliance with this demand, dishonourable, considering them as just objects of the king's resentment; but those, upon whom the king chiefly relied, insisted that the true point of honour was to accomplish his design, and to do it in the speediest and safest manner. The king, therefore, consented to their demand, provided they paid him ten pistoles a family; and, by this expedient, he raised sixty thousand pistoles, which was a great sum in those days, and got quit of at least as many people, who never would have been quiet^d. This year the pope gave his consent to the treaty of partition, by which Lewis XII. of France was to have Naples and Abruzzo, with the title of king, and Don Ferdinand the two Calabrias, with the country of Apuglia^e. The Great Captain soon put him in possession of his share, and the unfortunate Don Frederick king of Naples made it his choice to retire into France, there to expect a subsistence from the generosity of that prince who had despoiled him of the other half of his dominions^f. Donna Isabella, by the advice of Ximenes archbishop of Toledo, engaged, or rather obliged, Don Ferdinand to concur with her in a solemn invitation of the archduke Philip and the princess

Another revolt in those parts much more dangerous and troublesome than the former.

A.D. 1501.

^d Ferreras.

^e Luc. Marin. Sicul.

^f Zurita.

Joanna to come into Spain, in order to be acknowledged the legal successors of their dominions; a thing she had just reason to desire; but the king, who was sixteen years younger, had other notions in his head, which rendered this expedient not very acceptable; but as these objections could not be avowed, he complied with her request, and prudently concealed them ^z.

*The
Archduke
Philip and
Donna Jo-
anna ac-
knowleged
successors
by the states
of Castile.*

Amongst other things, their catholic majesties were extremely careful in recovering to the crown those places which, through the easiness of their predecessors, had been granted from it, and which it was not either honourable or safe to leave in the hands of subjects. The important fortress and port of Gibraltar was very justly esteemed of this number; and therefore their majesties, by giving, no doubt, a proper equivalent, obtained it from the duke de Medina Sidonia, by whose ancestor it was retaken, and annexed it to the crown ^h. The archduke Philip, and the princess Joanna, his consort, arrived in Spain, having travelled through France pretty early in the year; but as many precautions were necessary in an affair of so delicate a nature, it was the 21st of May before they received the oaths of the states of Castile in the cathedral church of Toledo; and it was the latter end of September before the like ceremony was performed at Saragossa, where the states of Arragon swore to them conditionally, in case the king Don Ferdinand should leave no heirs male ⁱ. Affairs in Italy were still in a critical situation: the French monarch sent an ambassador to complain of the ill usage his subjects had received from the Grand Captain. Don Ferdinand answered, like a great politician, that he was very desirous, if possible, of being upon good terms with his brother of France; and therefore, if he thought the treaty of partition unequal, he would accept his share, or he would leave the points in dispute to arbitrators, or even to the decision of a certain number of learned persons, who should be appointed judges to hear and determine all disputes; but, notwithstanding this seemingly pacific disposition, the war continued in Italy, where the Spaniards under the Grand Captain encroached daily upon the French ^k.

War breaking out also between the emperor and France, put the archduke Philip upon returning into his own dominions, for the safety of which he was very apprehensive. It was in vain that Don Ferdinand hinted to him,

^z Garibay.

^h Pulgar.

ⁱ Pulgar.

^k Anton. Nebriss.

that

that this sudden return was what he did not expect, after the pains that had been taken to secure to him the succession of so many kingdoms; in vain the queen, who was but just recovered from a dangerous illness, represented that his quitting Spain would have bad effects upon a nation by no means inclined to submit to foreigners; in vain the infanta Donna Joanna put him in mind that she was big with child, and that the depth of winter was a very improper season for travelling. The archduke persisted in his first resolution, nor would he be diverted from going through France; he accordingly set out from Madrid the 19th of December, leaving the people displeased, their majesties amazed, and his consort inconsolable¹. This year also the princess Catharine, who had espoused Arthur prince of Wales, became a widow, and, by consent of their majesties, was afterwards married to his younger brother Henry, and became afterwards queen of England, and mother of another queen^m. This year also died at Rome Andrew Paleologus, despot of the Morea, and the nephew of the last emperor of Constantinople, who, by his last will and testament, dated the sixth of April, transferred all his claims to their majesties, and their successorsⁿ.

All entreaties to detain the archduke in Spain prove altogether ineffectual.

A D. 1502.

As soon as the archduke Philip could procure a passport for that purpose, he went to Lyons, in order to have an interview with the French king, with whom he entered into a negotiation. Don Ferdinand having intelligence of this transaction, sent father Bernard Boyle to admonish him not to depart from the instructions which he had given him; notwithstanding which, he signed such an accommodation as he judged expedient. His father-in-law dispatched an order to the Grand Captain in Italy to pay no obedience to any commands he received but from himself; and, as soon as he was informed of it, disavowed the treaty; a circumstance which so irritated king Lewis, that he not only invaded Roussillon, but attempted to penetrate into Arragon, though with no great success; whereas Don Ferdinand, having obliged him to raise the siege of Salces, carried the horrors of war into France, and compelled Lewis to demand a truce for a few months; to which he consented^o. The war still continued in Italy with various success; but, upon the whole, was favourable to the Spaniards, the king taking care to send, from

The archduke concludes a treaty with France, which the king Don Ferdinand disavows.

¹ Pet. Mart. Angl.

^m Lord Bacon's Hist. of Henry VII.

ⁿ Pet. Mart. Angl.

^o Pulgar.

A.D. 1503.

time to time, great supplies and strong reinforcements by sea. On the 10th of March, the princess Donna Joanna was delivered at Alcala of a son, whom the archbishop of Toledo baptized by the name of Ferdinand^p; and, in this lying-in, it is believed that the infanta, by some accident, had her understanding impaired; at least soon after she gave very visible marks of an alienation of mind, from which she could never be recovered.

Donna Isabella, queen of Castile, dies, after a long and tedious distemper.

In the beginning of the succeeding year, it was found absolutely necessary to send the infanta Donna Joanna to her husband in Flanders, as her malady chiefly arose from her excessive passion for the archduke^q. A truce was likewise concluded in the spring with his most Christian majesty. On Good Friday, the 5th of April, there was a terrible earthquake, which was felt through the greatest part of Spain, and which the common people esteemed ominous, more especially as both their majesties fell dangerously ill. However, the king recovered; but the profound melancholy of the queen strengthened her disease. The loss of her son Don Juan first seized her spirits; the misfortunes of the infanta Donna Isabella increased her affliction; and her sense of the infanta Donna Joanna's incapacity, and the apprehension she was under as to its consequences, rendered the load of her cares too heavy for her to support. By her testament she called her daughter to the succession, and, after her, the prince Don Carlos; but appointed her husband Don Ferdinand regent of the kingdom till her grandson should attain the age of twenty; directing her body to be interred at Granada, and forbidding any public mourning upon her demise. In this disposition of mind, universally bewailed and regretted, died this great queen, on the 26th of November 1504^r, about half an hour before noon; and, as soon as a scaffold could be erected in the square of Medina del Campo, where she died, the king caused the archduchess Joanna to be proclaimed with the usual solemnities^s. The

A.D. 1504.

Great Captain was now in a manner the peaceable possessor of the kingdom of Naples; and as, in the achieving and maintaining that conquest, he had been obliged to take some extraordinary steps, there wanted not those who did him ill offices with the king Don Ferdinand, which induced that monarch to restrain his authority; and as, upon the death of the queen, he might have found means to have retorted this ill usage, the king was not altogether

^p Zurita.^q Mariana.^r Ferreras.^s Zurita.

free from apprehension; but Don Gonçalves quickly convinced him, by his steady attachment, that all which had been reported to his prejudice was but calumny.

The affairs of both courts, and the councils of both kings, were in a short time equally embarrassed. Don Ferdinand found that the greatest part of the nobility were by no means satisfied with his regency, but were rather desirous of having their young king Philip, who, they flattered themselves, would be more tractable, and who, they were sure, would be less capable of managing public affairs. The duke of Najara, and the famous Don Diego de Pacheco marquis of Villena, were at the head of the malecontents, and they sent Don Juan Manuel into Flanders, to fill the mind of their new master with such notions as might best answer their purpose. On the side of his Catholic majesty were the constable and admiral of Castile, Don Bernard Mendoza, and, above all, the archbishop of Toledo and the duke of Alva, who adhered to him steadily, when visibly abandoned by all others, and seemingly by his good fortune^t. The archduke, king of Castile, had conceived very high prejudices against his father-in-law, and affected to treat the queen's testament as a supposititious piece, and as invalid, if it was not so; neither did he make any scruple of declaring that no throne could admit of two kings; and that he meant to maintain his right to govern without an associate, to those who had sworn to his succession^u. An accident happened, which provoked him to carry things still farther: one of his catholic majesty's ambassadors had prevailed upon queen Joanna to corroborate her mother's act, by sending Don Ferdinand full power to govern Castile, and its dependencies; upon the discovery of which, the archduke dismissed all the queen's servants, forbid any Spaniard to speak to her, and threw the ambassador into a dungeon^w. In Spain, whatever passed in his mind, Don Ferdinand behaved with all the temper and condescension of a prince absolutely at his ease. He held an assembly of the states at Toro, and brought thither an excellent code of laws, that had been digested with great deliberation before the queen's death. The desire of having these enacted, made such an impression that the king and queen were proclaimed, and Don Ferdinand acknowledged as administrator, almost without any opposition^x. His jealousy of the power of the Grand Captain in Naples had induced him to

*Jealousies
and uneasinesses arise
between
Ferdinand
and the
archduke.*

^t Bernaldez.

^u Zurita.

^w Marin. Sic.

^x Mariana.

recal part of his army from thence, which might have proved a dangerous measure, if the archbishop of Toledo had not immediately suggested employing them in a war against the Moors, of which he bore the whole expence; and the army being transported to Africa, reduced the port and town of Mazalquivir ^y. Having exact intelligence of all that passed in Flanders, and knowing that his son-in-law was on the point of engaging with Lewis XII. to support him in his pretensions, Don Ferdinand broke all his measures, by proposing a marriage with the niece of that monarch, and entailing upon the heirs of it, male or female, the kingdom of Naples. The name of this young and beautiful princess was Germain de Foix, and the marriage was very speedily concluded ^z. Upon this the French monarch declared for Don Ferdinand, an incident which obliged the archduke to conclude a kind of treaty of pacification by his ministers at Salamanca, in which it was stipulated, that the queen and the two kings should govern with equal authority; with various other articles, which it is unnecessary to mention, since this pacification never took effect, and was concluded only to gain the archduke a peaceable admission into Spain, where his intention was that his faction should set it aside ^a. In the mean time the queen was delivered of the infanta Donna Maria; on which Don Ferdinand sent a person of distinction to compliment the king and queen, who was received with respect, though Philip persisted in his first resolution, and was taking at that very time such measures as he thought most expedient ^b, for undermining the authority of his father-in-law.

The archduke Philip goes to Spain, and dispossesses his father-in-law of the regency.

On the tenth of January, the archduke, with the queen his consort, embarked at Middleburgh for Spain; but, being forced by a tempest to take shelter in an English port, Henry the Seventh would not suffer him to depart till they had an interview at Windsor, where himself and his queen were received with all possible magnificence and respect, the two kings entering into a close alliance, and the queen being extremely delighted with the conversation of her sister the princess of Wales; but, however, his stay of six weeks is reported not to have been altogether voluntary, and what seems to give some colour to this suggestion is, that the English monarch engaged him, before his departure, to deliver up Edmund de la Pole, duke of

^y Ferreras.

^z Mezeray.

^a Est. de Garibay.

^b Zurita, Annal. Arragon,

Suffolk, who had been kept prisoner in the citadel of Namur from the time that Arthur, prince of Wales, had espoused the infanta; with a promise, however, that his life should be safe, as it was during that reign, though he was beheaded in the next. This affair being settled, the archduke continued his voyage, and landed safely at Corunna. The first step he took was, to declare he would not be bound by the treaty of Salamanca, and that he expected his father-in-law should abdicate the regency, and retire into his own dominions. Don Ferdinand, finding himself abandoned by every body except the primate of Toledo and the duke of Alva, resolved to yield to the torrent, and sent the archbishop to his son, to prevail upon him to consent to an interview, which was obtained with great difficulty, and upon the strangest terms imaginable. The young king advanced to it with six thousand men, in order of battle. Don Ferdinand had his ordinary retinue of about two hundred men, mounted upon mules with cloaks, but without swords, accompanied by the duke of Alva, in whose single person was comprised his whole court. Philip looked very grave, and put on an air of state and majesty; Don Ferdinand, on the contrary, appeared very open and gay, and, while his son presented one by one the nobility who had deserted him, he received them smiling, and rallied every one of them; so that the scheme of mortifying him was totally defeated.

They conferred in a hermitage, to which they were attended by Ximenes and Don Juan Manuel. The presence of the latter disconcerted the old king; but the primate of Toledo delivered him from his perplexity, by desiring Don Juan to leave the kings alone; and, he going out first, the archbishop shut the door, and returned to the two princes^d. The conference produced nothing; but a treaty was afterwards concluded, by which Don Ferdinand consented to retire into his own dominions; and the archduke, with some difficulty, allowed him to keep the three grand masterships, and assigned him the profits of a silk-farm in the kingdom of Granada, amounting to fifty thousand crowns. They had, before Don Ferdinand retired, another interview, in which Don Ferdinand gave his son a great deal of good advice, and particularly recommended to him the archbishop Ximenes, as one of the

Philip dies unexpectedly, and thereby throws Castile into great confusion.

^c Lord Bacon's History of Henry VII.
ribay.

^d Est de Ga-

best men and the ablest minister that Spain had ever bred ^a. When the old king returned with his young wife to Saragossa, the duke of Alva would have accompanied him, but he absolutely forbade it. In the month of July Don Philip held an assembly of the states at Valladolid, where they swore to the queen Donna Joanna in her own right, to the king as her husband, and to the prince Don Carlos as the heir apparent, and gave him a subsidy for the war against the Moors ^f. It was not long before the new government became universally odious; for not content with treating his wife harshly, and with contempt, Philip laboured to persuade the nobility to deprive her of the government, and to shut her up as a mad woman; a step which was prevented by the firmness of the admiral and the duke of Benavente. He quarrelled with the inquisition, changed all the governors and magistrates throughout Spain, and suffered his Flemish favourites to sell every thing ^g. In consequence of this misconduct, great troubles were like to ensue; some of the nobility entered into a league for setting the queen at liberty; and the people universally exclaimed, that they never knew the value of Don Ferdinand's administration till they were deprived of it; but the consequences of this universal discontent were averted by the king's sudden death, occasioned by violent exercise after a full meal, and then drinking cool liquor, which produced a fever that carried him off in six days, on the 25th of September, in the twenty-eighth year of his age ^h. He left the queen big with child, having had by her the prince Don Carlos his successor; the infant Don Ferdinand, afterwards emperor; the infantas Donna Eleonora, Donna Isabella, and Donna Maria, who, with his posthumous daughter Donna Catalina, were all queens, the first of Portugal and afterwards of France, the second of Denmark, the third of Hungary, and the last of Portugal ⁱ.

A.D. 1506.

The principal nobility agree to settle a council, and to recall Don Ferdinand.

The affairs of Castile, by the unfortunate and unexpected death of the king, were thrown into the utmost confusion; the great lords, to preserve some form of government, appointed a committee of seven, with the archbishop of Toledo at their head. That prelate went to the queen, and desired her to sign the necessary instruments for calling an assembly of the states; which she absolutely refused, repeating continually, "The king, my father

^a Alv. Gomez, de Reb. Gest. Ximen. Arragon.
^g Pet. Mart. Angl. Epist.
ⁱ Coes Otorio.

^f Zurita, Annal.
^h Est. de Ga-

will come, and settle all things ^k." His Catholic majesty was at that time in Italy; and, though he received the news of his son-in-law's death, in the Genoese territories, yet he persisted in his resolution of going to Naples. This resolution increased the confusion in Castile, where there were two parties formed, at the head of one of which was the archbishop of Toledo, in favour of Don Ferdinand; and into the other, the duke of Najara, the marquis of Villena, and others, entered, who were for calling in the emperor Maximilian. The committee of regency assembled the states, and, by the great address of the archbishop of Toledo, the party of the Catholic king prevailed ^l. The queen in the mean time took away her husband's corpse, under pretence of carrying it to Granada, and wandered with it through the country, travelling by night only, and giving frequent signs of outrageous distraction. Yet she had some lucid intervals, in which she expressed a great jealousy for her authority; and in one of these she forbade the deputies of the states from going to invite her father, notwithstanding the desired nothing so much as his return ^m. In the mean time some of the grandees were for marrying her again. The marquis of Villena proposed Don Alonso of Arragon, son to the infant Don Henry, the last heir male of the royal family; others were for Don Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, some say with her father's consent; Gaston de Foix, his brother-in-law, was named; and some mention there was of Henry the Seventh of England ⁿ. All these projects, however, were vain and fruitless, for the queen would never suffer even the most distant proposal of another marriage. The king Don Ferdinand settled every thing in Naples to his satisfaction; and, in pursuance of his treaty with the king of France, he restored such of the nobility to their estates as had been in the French interest; but it was observed, that, in holding the general assembly of the states, he took care that the queen should be absent, that the succession might be open for his grandson Don Carlos ^o. This year died the famous admiral Columbus, one of the ablest men in every respect of that, or indeed of any other age, whose capacity was only equalled by his virtues and by his good fortune ^p.

The malecontents in Spain, who were numerous and potent, invited the emperor Maximilian to assume the go-

^k Hern. de Pulgar, vide del Card. Ximen.
^l Alv. Gomez, de Reb. Gest. Ximen.
^m Ferreras.
ⁿ Annal. Arragon.
^o Est. de Garibay.

^p Alv. Go-
ⁿ Zurita,
^p Mariana.
 vernment

*He returns
from Italy
into Spain,
and re-
sumes the
regency of
Castile.*

A.D. 1507.

vernment of Spain, as tutor to his grandson Don Carlos. They caballed likewise with the king of Navarre, to grant him a passage through his dominions with an army; to which proposal he willingly assented, and for which he afterwards paid dear; and with the king of Portugal, to support the measure; to which he listened, till he saw it was a chimera. Maximilian, however, sent ambassadors to Don Ferdinand at Naples, to demand the regency of Castile; but the king answered, there was no regency; that his daughter queen Joanna governed in her own right; and that it might prejudice, but could never turn to the benefit of the emperor's affairs, to intermeddle with those of Castile. Maximilian made another attempt, and offered Don Ferdinand the title of emperor of Italy, which he refused; and, upon this, the ambassadors protested against his returning to Spain till the dispute about the regency was determined. The king told them, there was no such dispute, and set out for Savona, where he had a conference with Lewis the Twelfth, at whose request the Grand Captain made the third at their table. In the mean time the queen was delivered at Turquemada of the infanta Donna Catalina, on the 14th of June. The plague raging in the town, and the queen not being to be persuaded to leave it, the archbishop of Toledo permitted all who would to depart, but remained with her himself, and at length prevailed on her to go to the village of Hornillos^a. The catholic king landed in the kingdom of Valencia on the 20th of July, went from thence into Castile, and conferred with the queen his daughter, who had always some degree of sense in his presence, and who immediately gave him full powers to govern the dominions of Castile in her name. Two years afterwards, at his request, she retired to the castle of Tordeillas, a very pleasant place, six leagues from Valladolid, where she spent the remainder of her days^r. The kingdom was in great confusion, and the greatest part of the nobility discontented; but the king having procured the dignity of a cardinal for the archbishop of Toledo, and, of his own motive, added the office of inquisitor general, vacant by the death of the archbishop of Seville, secured by his means the clergy, and, by his own equity and moderation, the lesser nobility and the people, governed with his usual firmness, and was, generally speaking, well obeyed^s. The emperor Maximilian could not be per-

^a Hernando del Pulgar, vide del Card. Ximen.
Garibay.

^s Alv. Gomez, de Reb. Gest. Ximen.

^r Est. de

suaded that he had no title to the regency of Castile, the revenues of which were so considerable, and to which the Indies were a valuable appendix; but as he was unable to give the catholic king much disturbance himself, he proposed the marriage of the queen Joanna to the king of England; and spread a report, that he had lately concluded a treaty with that prince, in consequence of which he was fitting out a fleet to invade Spain. Don Ferdinand knew this to be a fable; but pretending to believe it, raised forces, fitted out a fleet, and secured the coasts so effectually, that the malecontents in the emperor's interest were caught in a net of their own weaving, since, without this colour, Ferdinand could not have procured the means to put his kingdom in a state of defence^t. The king proceeded next to arrest the bishop of Badajoz, who had entered into some treasonable practices against his person; and upon the emperor's sending Andreas del Burgo, whom he had banished as a disturber of the public peace, with the title of his ambassador, he ordered him to depart his dominions. In this situation of things the malecontent lords laboured to revive the old factions in great towns, which by degrees would have raised a flame through all the territories of Castile.

The first insurrection happened at Cordova, where a great deal of mischief was done. The king sent the provost of his household to inquire into the tumult, and to punish the authors of it. Upon his arrival, the marquis de Priego sent him an order in writing to quit the place, as a disturber of the public peace. The provost copied his own order, subscribed it, and directed it to the marquis; who was so incensed at this insult to a man of his quality, that he seized and sent him prisoner to one of his fortresses. The Catholic king, as soon as he was informed of this outrage, marched with an army towards Cordova, notwithstanding the constable, the duke of Alva, and almost all the Spanish nobility, interceded for the marquis. The Grand Captain, who was that lord's uncle, advised him to surrender himself, and all that he had, into the king's hands; which advice he followed, but without obtaining pardon. The king, however, would not restrain his person, but assigned him a pleasant village for his prison. He sent a commission to Cordova, where the first authors of the revolt were hanged, some others banished, the marquis of Priego was forbid to enter the city of Cor-

*Acts therein
with great
spirit and
firmness
against all
opposition.*

^t Pet. Mart. Ang. Epist.

dova, or the country of Andalusia, without the king's leave; all his fortresses were taken from him, and that of Montilla, in which he had imprisoned the king's provost, was razed to the ground". This severity increased the discontent of the nobility, but it kept them very quiet. The emperor sent Don Pedro Guevara and Alonso Romero, who was servant to the marquis of Villena, with secret instructions to his partisans, who entered the kingdom in disguise, and, being apprehended, were put to the torture; the former disclosed all he knew, but the latter would not speak a word *. The Moors having taken from the Portuguese the town of Arzile, count Pedro Navarro and Ramiro de Guzman, by order of his Catholic majesty, assisted them to recover it; which assistance gave the king Don Emanuel such satisfaction, that he sent each of them a present of six thousand crusadoes, which they refused, as having only executed their master's order. Don Emanuel, upon this refusal, sent a person of rank to thank his Catholic majesty, but at the same time to complain, that Pedro and Ramiro had taken the island and fortress of Pegnon de Velez, which depended upon the kingdom of Fez, a part of Africa the Portuguese had a right to conquer. Don Ferdinand answered, that from this island the Moors made descents upon the kingdom of Granada; that the taking it had cost some blood, and the keeping it would be attended with a great expence, which, if Don Emanuel was inclined to defray, it was at his service x.

Dispute between him and the emperor Maximilian settled by mediation.

At the time the king had inflamed the malecontent lords to the highest degree, cardinal Ximenes undertook to mediate for them, and, by a dextrous application to their passions, drew from each the secret cause of their dislike to the king, which, as he acted by his direction, he communicated to him. Don Ferdinand, sending for them singly, and as it were by accident, gratified each in his demand, or gave him an equivalent, upon which the emperor quickly found that in Spain there were no malecontents y. The league of Cambray, which had been concluded the year before against the Venetians by the pope, the emperor, the king of France, and the catholic king, for himself and his daughter, was in the beginning of this proclaimed in Spain. The king having referred the dispute between himself and the emperor to the cardinal of Rohan, that prelate pronounced that the catholic

* Est. de Garibay. w Pet. Mart. Epist.
y Hernando del Pulgar, vide del Card. Ximen.

x Faria y Sousa.

king should govern Spain till Don Carlos was of the age of twenty-five; that the latter should not take the title of king while his mother lived; and that the catholic king should give them each a pension of fifty thousand ducats, and assist the emperor against the Venetians; which decree he accepted and ratified^z. On the third of March was born the infant Don Juan of Arragon, who died within a few days of his birth^a. About this time cardinal Ximenes procured the king's leave to undertake the conquest of Oran, from whence it was evident that great advantages would arise to the nation. The troops to be employed were ten thousand foot and four thousand horse; the cardinal was to name his own officers, and command in person; the king was to furnish nothing except a fleet to transport them; and Oran, which was at that time a very flourishing place, and a kind of republic under the protection of the king of Tremecen, was to remain, if conquered, to the cardinal, and his successors in the see of Toledo, till the king should repay the charges of this expedition^b.

The cardinal employed under him count Pedro Navarro and signor Vianelli, his intimate acquaintance, who both proved false and ungrateful, and, by their emissaries, excited a mutiny amongst the troops before they embarked, which the cardinal quieted by his presence. They differed again before they landed; Navarro and Vianelli, with most of the officers, were for deferring it till the morning, esteeming it dangerous to enter the port of Mazalquivir in the night. However, the cardinal would be obeyed, and entered the port without the loss of a shallop. Upon the landing there was a third dispute; for they insisted, that, considering the nature of the ground, cavalry would be useless; but two thousand horse were landed, and the vessels with the other two thousand on board, were ordered by the cardinal to proceed directly for Oran^c. In the morning the cardinal, having harangued his army, and given them his blessing, retired at their earnest request to the fortrefs of Mazalquivir. The Moors were surprized to find the Christians in order of battle at break of day, and much more so when they found themselves terribly cannonaded from the fleet. However, from the advantage of ground, and superiority of numbers, they defend-

The expedition for the conquest of Oran undertaken by cardinal Ximenes.

^z Est. de Garibay. Reb. Gest. Ximen. Ximen.

^a Mariana.

^b Al Gomez de Hernando del Pulgar. Vide del Card.

ed themselves gallantly till they saw the Christian colours flying upon the towers of Oran; for the cardinal had secret intelligence in the place, which he never discovered, by whom a thousand of the horse dismounted were let in at one of the gates; and another body of horse, in conjunction with those first landed, dispersed and destroyed the Moorish army when it once began to break. The cardinal having completed his design before one half of the provisions and ammunition which he had provided were expended, made a present of the whole to the army, and left the command to Don Pedro Navarro, who assumed the title of general of his catholic majesty's forces. With that character he conquered the city and kingdom of Bugia, forced the kings of Tunis and Tremecen to become tributaries, as also the city of Algiers, and performed other great exploits, till, pushing his conquests too far, he suffered a defeat, and lost the best part of his troops. As for the cardinal, he retired privately after his return to Alcala, where he was then founding an university, and not only refused applause, but declined appearing in public in order to avoid it^d. It was this year that the king prevailed upon his daughter to remove to Tordefillas, he himself residing for the most part at Valladolid, from whence making her frequent visits, and carrying persons of the highest quality with him, he obliged her to quit the indecent habit she wore, and having placed several ladies of great rank about her, brought her to live in quite another manner than she had done^e.

A.D. 1509.

King Ferdinand daunts the spirits of the malecontents, and governs peaceably.

Don Ferdinand went next year into Arragon to hold the states of that kingdom at Moncon, and in the mean time left the administration in Castile to cardinal Ximenes^f. Upon his return in the autumn, several of the grandees of Castile, who had disputes with each other, which they durst not decide after the old method, by arms, and which they thought it beneath them to leave to the law, went of themselves to the king, and desired that he would decide them, not as regent, but as umpire, voluntarily chosen by the parties. He readily undertook this task, and generally contented both sides; and by this expedient many feuds were extinguished which had lasted through several generations^g. On the 6th of October he opened an assembly of the states at Madrid, and there, in pursuance

^d Est. de Garibay.

^e Mayerne, Turquet.
nando del Pulgar, vide del Card. Ximen.
Arragon.

^f Her-
Zurita, Annal.

of his composition with the emperor, swore well and faithfully to administer the government, and likewise obtained a considerable subsidy for defraying the expence of the war against the Moors^b. In Italy, the king and the pope, having received satisfaction from the Venetians, detached themselves in effect from the league of Cambray; and though, by this measure, they deserted their allies, yet they certainly preserved that republic, which must otherwise have been destroyed. As the pope durst not have taken this step but in concert with the king, so, to fix him absolutely to his party, he declared the French monarch had forfeited all title to the kingdom of Naples. Upon the 23d of July, he granted the investiture to Don Ferdinand, with the tribute reserved from king Charles of eight thousand ounces of gold, to be paid annually into the apostolic chamber; but, on the 7th of August this was changed into a present for a white horse decently equipped, which is all the tribute that has been paid ever since^c. Count Pedro Navarro was this year routed before Tripoli, with the loss of several thousand men, including Don Garcia de Toledo, eldest son of the duke of Alva, through the rashness, or rather rapaciousness of the count. This year also Vianelli was killed; but the king, notwithstanding, persisted in his resolution of carrying on the war^k.

A.D. 1510.

The catholic king went in the month of January to Seville, in order to hasten the vast military preparations that he had caused to be made on the coasts throughout his whole dominions; and declared publicly, that the war he intended was against the Moors, and that he meant to go in person into Africa. His subjects in general, and more especially the nobility and people of Castile, were very much alarmed at this project, and applied to him in the most dutiful manner to divert him from that design. In France, however, they had other notions; and Lewis the Twelfth said publicly, "I am the Moor and Saracen against whom they arm in Spain." He acquired the reputation of a great politician by the event; but this armament, notwithstanding, had all the effect which Don Ferdinand intended; it brought the Moors to submission, obliged them to restore all the Christian slaves in their hands, to become his vassals, and to pay him large sums annually by way of tribute; it had also a good effect in Italy, into which country, when the king condescended to lay aside his expedition into Africa, he sent many thou-

Obtains many advantages without a blow.

^b Est. de Garibay.

^c Herrera.

^k Mar. Ferr.

A.D. 1511.

*Conquers
Navarre,
in conse-
quence of a
league be-
neficial on-
ly to him-
self.*

sands of old troops, and at length declared his resolution to support pope Julius the Second against all who should adhere to the council of Pifa, whom he treated as heretics. He entered into a league with king Henry VIII. of England against France; and sent to admonish the king of Navarre not to have any thing to do with schismatics; and to be very careful that the French did not make an irruption through his territories into those of Arragon. To this message he received a civil return; though it is scarce to be doubted, that all the parties, even at this time, had taken their measures, and were determined how to act¹.

The king of France had a great ambition, if not to be the master, yet at least to be the arbiter, of Italy. Maximilian, who saw no great advantages that could redound to him from the war, was willing enough to get out of it. As for the pope, he was so provoked with Lewis the Twelfth for procuring and protecting the council of Pifa, that he first called in the Swiss, to drive his subjects out of Italy, and took a resolution next of excommunicating that king. To bring so great a design to bear, he entered into a league with his catholic majesty and the Venetians, and the former laboured to bring the king of England to declare himself also for the league^m. The army of the allies opened the campaign with the siege of Bologna, which they were obliged to raise. A battle ensued not long after, in which they were defeated, but in which, notwithstanding, the Spanish infantry acquired great honour, and killed the French general Gaston de Foix, brother to queen Germanaⁿ. This success of the French increased the confusion in Italy, and was the true cause of a new revolution in that country before the close of the year; for the allies in general, knowing that it is the genius of the French to push their victories, used so much diligence, that, with the assistance of the Swiss, they carried their point almost every where. In the mean time the catholic king, who had brought over the English monarch Henry the Eighth, with a great army, into France, and procured potent succours from thence, under colour of recovering Guienne, judged it a fit opportunity to let his neighbours see what were his true designs, and who in reality were the Moors and Saracens he intended to humble^o. John de Albert, who, in right of his wife,

¹ Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII.^m Rainald.ⁿ Guiccardini.^o Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII.

was at that time king of Navarre, was supposed to have an attachment to the crown of France. Upon this foundation the duke of Alva was sent with a small army of choice troops, to demand a passage through that kingdom into France; and that the prince of Viana, and three of the best fortresses in the kingdom, should be put into his hands by way of security, that the king should do nothing against the interests of Ferdinand. These terms being rejected, Pampeluna was besieged and taken, and the better part of the kingdom reduced. The French made some efforts to recover it, but without success; and, after they were repulsed, the duke of Alva completed his conquest. Thus while other great powers were wasting their blood and treasure about they knew not well what, and wearied each other into peace with little or no advantage, Don Ferdinand acquired, or, as many authors say, usurped, a kingdom that lay very convenient for him, and so became a greater gainer by the war than any, or indeed than all the other powers together. At this juncture the catholic king was in the zenith of his glory; and though, without question, he was one of the most potent princes in Europe, yet his superior reach in politics made him more respected than the terror of his arms; so that the penetrating his mysterious measures was the constant aim of the ablest statesmen in most of the courts of Europe.

The French monarch, by the advice of cardinal Carvajal, demanded a truce of Ferdinand for a year in Spain, while the affairs of Italy were left to the chance of war. The catholic king gave so much countenance to this, as brought a French ambassador to his court; a circumstance which so much alarmed his allies, that they were very silent on several topics upon which they had been troublesomely solicitous before. The king's subjects also reaped all the benefits of the truce during the continuance of the treaty; and the king was at liberty to act as he thought proper, if he had seen a favourable occasion; but, except repulsing John Albrct, king of Navarre, who endeavoured to recover his kingdom, and an expedition or two of no great importance against the Moors in Africa, there passed nothing remarkable this year, at least on this side; for as to the war in Italy, it belongs to another place. With respect to civil concerns, the king proceeded in deciding, or rather compromising, disputes among the nobility; and acted

Falls into a low and languishing condition, with little hopes of recovery.

with some rigour against Don Pedro Gironne, who seized the best part of the duchy of Medina Sidonia, under pretence that he was heir to the duke, as having married his sister of the whole blood, notwithstanding he left a brother Don Alonso, to whom the king decreed it. A little before Easter the king went from Valladolid to Medina del Campo, and from thence to Carrioncillo, an exceeding pleasant place, where a French cook belonging to queen Germana made him a strengthening soup, which he flattered himself would enable him to beget an heir to his hereditary dominions, of which he was very desirous. But it had a quite different effect; for, upon retiring, as his custom was, into a convent, during Passion-Week, he fell into a languishing condition, and was thenceforward afflicted with a deep melancholy, so that he took no other diversion than hunting. This afforded him an opportunity of riding by himself in forests and deep vallies, which served only to nourish that humour, which, while it preyed upon his spirits, reduced his body to a skeleton, and wasted him with a slow disease, from which he could obtain no relief by physic. His ill state of health revived the hopes of those who, though they had been long forced to dissemble it, were enemies to his person and government, and excited a spirit of intrigue in others, who laboured to recommend his grandson, Don Ferdinand, to the prejudice of the archduke Charles; a design which created such a prospect of future troubles, as gave all, who had a just concern for the public welfare and tranquillity, infinite anxiety and terror.

His indisposition, however, has no bad effect on his administration of affairs.

His declining state of health did not hinder Don Ferdinand from attending to affairs of state; neither did it impair, at least in any discernible degree, his faculties for business. The death of the queen of France gave occasion to his consort to send the bishop of Tripoli with compliments of condolance to her uncle, as well as to put him in mind of her right to the inheritance of her brother the duke of Nemours. The king charged this prelate with a commission of much greater importance, which was, to get the truce lately renewed for another year converted into a solid peace; to facilitate which, he offered that the infant Don Ferdinand should espouse the second daughter of the most Christian king, and proposed a marriage between that king and the infanta Donna Leonora his daughter. This proposal, however, came to nothing; for Henry the Eighth of England, being equally offended at his renewing the truce with France, and at the delay of the archduke Charles's marriage with his sister the princess Mary,

Mary, resolved to make both him and the emperor sensible of his displeasure, by concluding a peace with the French, and giving his sister to their king; both which measures were quickly carried into execution, notwithstanding all the pains his catholic majesty's daughter, queen Katherine, could take to prevent them^w. The war continued hot in Italy, where the king could not depend so much on pope Leo the Tenth as he had done on his predecessor. However, he laboured, and with success, to free the Genoeſe intirely from the French yoke; but his endeavours to procure a peace among the Italians were ineffectual, notwithstanding Selim, emperor of the Turks, threatened Italy with an invasion; which menaces gave Ferdinand, who never let such opportunities slip, a pretext for arming by land and sea, in Catalonia, Sicily, and Sardinia, as well as in Castile, under colour of providing for the defence of Christendom against the Infidels, but with an intention, as it was generally believed, to make use of them wherever his interest might require. This armament, however, had a great effect; it awed the Turks, kept all his neighbours in suspense, preserved his conquests in Africa, and procured fresh submissions, and presents to a very great value, from the Moorish princes in that country^x.

A.D. 1514.

On the accession of Francis I. to the French throne, the catholic king began to apprehend that he would go in person into Italy. Upon that monarch's sending an ambassador, with high professions of esteem and friendship, and strong assurances that he would observe the peace concluded by his predecessor, the king answered, that he would observe it punctually, provided it was extended to Italy^y. He knew that this was not what the French king intended, and consequently the war would break out afresh; he summoned the states of Castile, Arragon, Catalonia, and Valentia, in order to raise money for the execution of his great designs. In the assembly of the states of Castile at Burgos, he carried his point to the full extent of his wishes, by annexing Navarre to the kingdoms of Castile and Leon for ever^z. He had not, however, the like success in his hereditary dominions; the queen, whom he sent to hold in his name the states of Arragon, meeting with a very warm and obstinate opposition. On the 27th of July, while he was at Burgos, he was taken with such a violent fit of vomiting in the night, that he was very near dying without assistance. His phy-

Is extremely offended with the behaviour of the States of Arragon.

^w Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII.
^y Mezeray.

^z Herrera

^z Est. de Garibay.

ficians assuring him that he had not long to live, he made his will, by which he left the regency of Spain, and the grand-mastership of all the orders, to the infant Don Ferdinand. He recovered, however, and gave audience to the deputies from the states of Arragon, who came to offer him whatever supplies he judged requisite, provided he would repeal the law which gave vassals a right to sue for redress in the king's courts. To this demand Don Ferdinand answered roundly, that he would not purchase a supply at the expence of the liberties of his subjects: that, before his reign, the vassals of the nobility were their slaves: that he had made them free, and would keep them so; and having spoke to this effect, he ordered them to quit his presence^a. He sent for cardinal Ximenes to preside in the royal council at Segovia, and then went in person to the states of Arragon^b. He found them in a very ill temper; and though he had the clergy and the deputies from cities on his side, yet the greater and lesser nobility persisted firmly in their first opinions; which threw the king into such a rage, that he reproached them bitterly with want of duty to their sovereign, and of affection for their fellow subjects^c. He then ordered his son, the archbishop of Saragossa, to go to that city (for the states were held at Calatayud) and to demand in his name a free gift from the inhabitants, which they very chearfully and readily granted, and most of the great towns followed their example, to the no small regret of the nobility. He next undertook to restore a perfect understanding with the court of London, to which he sent his agent Gilbert, with very rich presents for the king, and with as valuable, though perhaps not quite so magnificent, to cardinal Wolsey, by which that monarch was induced to renew his treaties. The cardinal acquainted him with all the intrigues of the archduke, who was just declared of age in Flanders, and of his design to send the dean of Louvain with a formal compliment to his majesty, but with secret instructions to pry into every thing, and to give him an exact account of his measures; which piece of intelligence Don Ferdinand received with secret satisfaction^d.

*The death
of Don Fer-
dinand
Gonçales de
Cordova,
surnamed
the Great
Captain.*

This year the Turks had a considerable fleet at sea, or rather a Moorish fleet in their service, under the command of the famous pirate Barbarossa. The places, however, held by the catholic king upon the coast of Barbary, were so well fortified and provided, that they were not

^a Zurita, Annal. Arragon.
^d Pulg. Vide del Card. Ximen.

^b Abarca. ^c Hernando del
^d Ld. Herb. Hist. of Henry VIII.

able to give them much disturbance, except besieging Bugia, which they would certainly have taken, if it had not been relieved by a fleet from Majorca, which the viceroy fitted out without waiting for the king's orders^c. The king Don Ferdinand removed from Valladolid, with an intent to pass the winter in Andalusia, in hopes that air and exercise would do him good, and, in his way thither, stopped at Placentia. There he received the dean of Louvain, who came from the archduke; and treating him with great civility and kindness, drew from him many things. He engaged him to use his interest with his master, that Chievres, his first minister, might have nothing to do with Spain; and, when he had made what use of him he could, he ordered him to go to Guadalupe, there to wait his return^d. The war in Italy this year was very warm, Francis I. being there in person, who gained a great victory over the Swiss in the neighbourhood of Milan, and soon after became master of that city. In the progress of the war, he derived great advantages from the military skill of count Pedro of Navarre, whose ransom he paid, and whom he engaged in his service, by affording him various instances^e of his generosity^f. Towards the close of the year died Don Ferdinand Gonçales de Cordova, surnamed the Great Captain, who had rendered such eminent services to the catholic king, and whose intrigues with the emperor, the king of France, the archduke, and other potentates, had given his master inexpressible inquietude to the very last, so that he considered his death rather with satisfaction than regret^h.

A D. 1515.

The king having advanced in his journey as far as Truxillo, and having ordered his son the infant Don Ferdinand, with his governor Don Pedro de Guzman, to Guadalupe, he set out for the same place, and, hunting by the way, came to the village of Madrigalejo, where finding himself extremely ill, he was obliged to take up his lodgings at an inn, as it was the only tolerable house in the place. He called immediately for his confessor father Matienço, and received the sacraments of the church. He then sent for the counsellors Zapata and Carvajal, of whom he demanded what they thought of his disposition of the regency of Castile in favour of the infant Don Ferdinand. They told him honestly, that it would prove very prejudicial to Spain, as it was impossible that the infant should discharge that trust himself; and therefore, as it must pass into

Demise and character of the catholic king Don Ferdinand of Arragon.

^c Est. de Garibay. ^f Zurita, Annal. Arragon. ^g Herrera.

^h Zurita, Annal. Arragon.

other hands, his majesty was the best judge to whom it ought to be confided. The king then declared, by his last will and testament, the queen Donna Joanna his daughter the sole heiress of all his dominions; and, after her, his grandson Don Carlos. He left the queen Germana a pension of thirty thousand florins per annum, and the infant Don Ferdinand a revenue of fifty thousand ducats, charged on the revenue of the kingdom of Naplesⁱ. He declared Cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, regent of Castile^k, and his natural son the archbishop of Saragossa regent of Arragon, and also of the several kingdoms dependent upon that crown^l. He signed his will on the 22d of January, the queen arriving from Lerida the same day; and the next morning, he expired, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, in the forty-second year of his reign over Castile, and in the thirty-seventh over Arragon, that is, at the very entrance of the year, his father dying on the 19th, as he did on the 23d, of January. Besides his legitimate children by his two queens, who have been already mentioned, he had by Donna Aldonca Iborra, before his marriage with queen Isabella, Don Alonso of Arragon, archbishop of Arragon and Valentia, and Donna Joanna of Arragon, whom he married to Don Bernard de Velasco, constable of Castile; and by two other women, one a native of Biscay, and the other of Portugal, he had two daughters, who were nuns^m. Besides his hereditary kingdoms, which he bequeathed to the heiress of Castile, he added, by conquest, those of Granada, Naples, and Navarre. He directed his body to be interred in the capital of the first mentioned, near that of Donna Isabellaⁿ. In its passage thither, under the care of the marquis of Denia, master of his household, it was received with great marks of respect by the nobility, but with much warmer tokens of affection from the people, who lamented their loss with great sincerity, and called him with great justice their father and their deliverer^o. His panegyrists would have us believe him a perfect prince^p; his enemies allege, that he was not heroically brave, and by no means a slave to his word^q. He had his virtues, he had his imperfections; but, take him all together, he was, properly speaking, the founder of the Spanish monarchy, and one of the greatest and wisest princes that ever sat upon a throne.

ⁱ Est. de Garibay.
Ximen. ^l Bernaldez.
Arragon, ^o Mariana.

^k Hernando del Pulg. Vide del Card.
^m Est. de Garibay. ⁿ Zurita. Annal.
^p Ferreras, ^q Faria y Sousa, &c.

S E C T. XIV.

The Reign of Charles I. King of Spain, commonly styled the Emperor Charles V. from his Assuming, to his Abdication, of the regal Titles.

TH E royal council, of which the archbishop of Granada was president, gave immediate notice to the cardinal archbishop of Toledo of his being declared regent, and then removed to Guadalupe, where the infant Don Ferdinand was with the dean of Louvain, who, upon the cardinal's arrival, disputed with him the regency, as having himself received full powers, in case of the king's death, from Don Carlos. To these pretensions the cardinal answered roundly, that the archduke had no power to vest that authority in any, since, by the will of queen Isabella, he was not called to the succession till of full age: he added, that, if he had any such power, he could not constitute the dean regent, because he was a foreigner, and, as such, excluded by the laws. Upon this declaration, the dean offered to act subservient to the cardinal, an offer which he readily accepted, and the council removed to Madrid^a. In the kingdom of Arragon, the chief justice refused to acknowledge the archbishop of Saragossa in quality of regent^b. As soon as Charles received the news of his grandfather's death at Brussels, he dispatched a commission, confirming Ximenes in the regency, and at the same time acquainted him with the reasons that had induced him to assume the title of king, which were, that pope Leo and the emperor Maximilian, in their letters, had given him that title, which therefore he desired might be confirmed in Spain^c. The cardinal, for this purpose, called an assembly of the principal nobility of Castile, where the point was warmly debated; and in which it is highly probable the nobles would have put a negative upon the king's request, if the cardinal had not suddenly cut the thing short, by saying, the king did not stand in need of their authority to confirm his title, but had asked their assent from a spirit of decency and complaisance; at the same time he ordered the officers to dis-

Accession of the archduke Charles, who immediately assumes the regal title.

^a Hernando del Pulgar, Vid. del Card. Ximen. ^b Barthol. Leonardo de Argenfola, Primera Parte de los Annales de Arragon. ^c Alnar. Gomez, de Reb. Gest. Ximen.

play the royal standard for Don Carlos the First^d. This proclamation was made on the thirteenth of April, and, while he was proclaiming, the council unanimously confirmed the measure. They saw opposition was in vain, and concurred with a good grace in what they could not help. Some of the most considerable would have had recourse to their old method of a confederacy; and applied themselves, with this design, to the duke of Infantado, who assured them, that he thought himself as ill used as any by the cardinal, but advised them first to send a deputation, to demand of him a sight of the powers in virtue of which he acted. The cardinal received the deputation very obligingly, and promised him satisfaction the next day; and, when they came again for that purpose, shewed them a corps of two thousand old troops, and a train of artillery, drawn out before his palace, adding, "These are the powers by which I mean to govern Spain till the king shall arrive^e." This was so much the cardinal's opinion, and he had so little notion of authority being respected without force, that, observing the government of king Ferdinand had thrown a great weight of property into the hands of the citizens and commons throughout Spain, he granted commissions of array, that, whenever it should be necessary, they might be in a condition to defend themselves. By this stroke of policy, he created a standing army of thirty thousand men in a short time, well-disciplined, who were content to serve, without putting the crown to the expence either of pay or quarters^f. John de Albret, the dethroned king of Navarre, with a considerable army which he had raised in France, endeavoured the recovery of his dominions, in which he was prevented by the vigour and vigilance of cardinal Ximenes, who sent a small body of old troops, under the command of Don Ferdinand Villalva, an old officer, to secure the passes into that country, by whom the king's forces were defeated, and the marshal of Navarre taken prisoner; an event which so afflicted the king and queen, that neither of them long survived the disaster^g. The cardinal then ordered all the numerous fortresses in Navarre to be demolished, leaving the fortifications only of Pampeluna; a step which raised a great clamour, as the

^d Alphonso Ulloa, *Vita del Imperator Carlo V.*

^e Sandoval.

^f Hernando del Pulgar, *Epitome de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V.* por Don Juan Antonio, de Vera y Figueroa a Conde de la Roca.

^g P. Moret.

title to that kingdom was none of the clearest; but the cardinal thought Don Ferdinand was to answer for the acquisition; and that, in quality of regent, it was his business to keep it^b. In Naples, queen Joanna and her son Don Carlos were proclaimed with little opposition; but, in Sicily, the people revolted, not against the king, but the viceroy. The corsair Barbarossa defeated the Spaniards before Algiers, made himself master of that place, and strangled the Moorish prince who had called him to his assistance.

A.D. 1516.

The Flemish ministers who were about king Charles, perceiving how great a capacity the cardinal had, with what superior abilities he governed the dominions of Castile, while the archbishop of Saragossa, though the son of king Ferdinand, and a native of Arragon, could not persuade the states to proclaim their master king, or to acknowledge him for regent, advised him to send the cardinal orders to regulate the debts of the crown, to resume what had been unjustly usurped from its domains, and to call those to an account who had been intrusted with the revenue; that these necessary but difficult parts of government might be regulated before his majesty's arrival, and the blame of any severity that might appear in it be rather charged on that minister than on themselves. The cardinal, on receiving the king's orders, demanded letters patent in full form, and with an augmentation of power, and on that condition undertook to execute what was enjoined^d. At first this demand created some uneasiness at Brussels; but at length the Flemings advised the king to gratify the cardinal, and to intrust him with the power of bestowing governments, places of judicature, and offices of the revenue: but at the same time they increased the number of his colleagues, a step which gave him the less uneasiness, as he suffered none to share in his authority. The cardinal went through this difficult work with great dexterity, recovered several considerable lordships to the crown, but without requiring any account of the profits; and, as often as there was any pretence for doing it, gave those from whom they were taken money, or some other equivalent. Such as had been guilty of fraud or oppression in collecting or managing the public revenue, he punished severely, and, out of their fines and confiscations, discharged the debts of the crown. The great governments he bestowed upon the principal nobility; the less

*Cardinal
Ximenes
governs
Castile
with the
title of re-
gent.*

A.D. 1517.

^b Alvar. Gomez. de Reb. Gest. Ximen.

^d Sandoval.

*Disgraced
by Don
Carlos, is
poisoned,
and dies
without
seeing the
king.*

upon such as had raised themselves by their merit ; in which distribution he had a particular regard to old officers who had served long in the army, and, above all things, he was circumspect in the choice of those whom he raised to judicial offices. By this method he so qualified the rigour of his administration, and made his disinterested zeal for the public so apparent, that it began to rise above that envy which his grandeur had excited ^k.

Yet all he did was not equally pleasing to all men ; for his removing the governor of Tordefillas, and a great part of the queen's household, was ill taken by many, though he did it because they soothed the queen in her melancholy ; and those whom he placed near her did all they could to amuse and divert her, and even to awake her ambition. In this aim they succeeded so far, as to engage her to dress in a manner suitable to her quality, and even to go out of the castle to hear mass, when people were placed in the street to cry, long live the queen ; and to give other testimonies of joy, with which she was extremely pleased. This conduct the king approved so much, that he writ him a letter of thanks for it with his own hand ^l. He prevented likewise the Jews from obtaining an exemption from the penal laws, for which they offered a large sum of money ; and, upon the pope's demanding a considerable sum from the clergy, under colour of a war with the Turks, he prevented that likewise, being persuaded, that, if such a precedent was once made, it would be frequently followed ^m. But there were some other mischiefs which he could not prevent, such as the quarrels amongst the nobility, the tumults in Valladolid, and other great cities, and the great sums of money that were sent out of the kingdom to purchase the favour of the Flemish ministers ⁿ. In the month of August the king landed at St. Andero, and immediately sent a courier to acquaint the cardinal and council with his arrival, who thereupon set out from Madrid to meet him, and to execute some orders he had before received by an express dispatched from the king when he embarked. On the road, he was poisoned in a trout upon which he dined, though the effects did not presently discover themselves ^o. When he arrived at Aranda, where he found the infant Don Ferdinand, he suddenly posted guards about his pa-

^k Hernando del Pulgar.

Ximen.

^m Hernando del Pulgar.

^o Mayerne, Turquet.

^l Alvar, Gomez, de Reb. Gest.

ⁿ Alphonso Ul-

lace, shut the city gates, and then signified to Don Pedro de Guzman his governor, and the bishop of Astorga his preceptor, the king's orders that he should withdraw, which afflicted the infant extremely^p. Advancing as far as Roja, to meet the king, his distemper began to shew itself with such violence, that he found he had not long to live; and therefore, laying aside all concern for worldly affairs, he applied his thoughts to the means of making such an end as might be suitable to his life, and so expired on the eighth of November (A). Some say his death

^p Alv. Gomez, de Reb. Gest. Ximen.

(A) The reputation of cardinal Ximenes is so great, and we find him so frequently mentioned in other histories, as well as of Spain, that we shall probably do the reader a pleasure in taking notice of a few particulars relating chiefly to his private life. The greatest part of the Spanish writers agree, that though his father was in low circumstances, yet the family of Cisneros was of ancient nobility: if so, the cardinal took care not to discredit them by the addition of any modern titles, of which he bestowed some upon men of merit, but left his relations nearly in the same state in which he found them. In all probability this conduct proceeded from a settled persuasion that it was best for them. In the midst of his greatness, he went one summer to the village where he was born, visited his kindred, and entertained them with all the marks of kindness and affection possible. Amongst the rest, there was an old man who lived very decently upon a narrow income, and took great pains in breeding up his children. He was baking his

bread in little cakes when the cardinal came, on which he ran up-stairs to change his cloaths; but he made him come down immediately: "Your dress, and your business, said he, very well become your station; take care that your bread don't burn, we can discourse together while you are turning it." He inquired afterwards into the number and circumstances of his family, and, when he took his leave, gave him wherewithal to provide for them. His humility was very unaffected. He was present once when doctor Nicholas de Paz was explaining the philosophy of Raymund Lully; and, in speaking to the question, whether that famous man had the philosopher's stone, or not, he took notice of a passage in the psalms, which has been thought to look that way: "He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the needy out of the dunghill, that he may set him with the princes, even with the princes of his people." That portion of scripture, said the cardinal, may be much more naturally interpreted; for instance, in
my

death was hastened by his disgrace ; the bishop of Badajoz, who had many obligations to him, and whom he intended

my own case ; and then ran out into a long detail of his own meanness, and the wonderful manner in which he had been exalted, and this in so pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from all who were present. Those who lived in and near his time believed that he had the gift of prophecy, which notion arose chiefly from the two brothers, Charles and Ferdinand, saying frequently, on the great events of their life, " This was foretold me by cardinal Cisneros." It is very certain, that he advised Charles to send his brother out of Spain, and to divide his dominions with him. " This, said he, will constitute two great houses, and in your turns you may be both emperors ;" which, as he took his advice, actually came to pass. But what came nearer to this point was, the agreement he framed between Ferdinand and the Catholic and his son-in-law Philip. He took the oaths of each of them, and at the time he took them, he said, " Remember what I tell you, if you break this oath, you will not long survive it ;" which was actually the case with respect to Philip, who broke it and died soon after. He had a great contempt for what were styled the arts of a court, and would never use them. Don Pedro Porio Carrero, who was with king Charles in Flanders, wrote to him, that he had many enemies there, and advised him to

make use of a cypher. He thanked him for his intelligence and his friendship, but rejected the expedient. " I have nothing, said he, that I desire to conceal ; and, if I write any thing that is amiss, I will not deprive my enemies of their evidence." He behaved sternly himself to the nobility, but he advised both Ferdinand and Charles not to treat them with rigour. " Ambition, said he, is their common crime, and you will do well to make submission their only punishment." His coadjutor Adrian was miserably disturbed at the libels that flew about ; but Ximenes, who was as little spared, bore them with great temper. " We act, said he, and we must give others leave to speak ; if what they say is false, we may laugh ; if true, we ought to mend." However, he sometimes searched the printers and booksellers ; but, as he gave previous notice, it may be presumed he did not often meet with things that could give offence. The great object of his care was the revenue of his archbishopric ; with which, however great, he did such things as could scarce have been expected from it, more especially as one half of it was constantly distributed in alms, about which he was so circumspect, that no fault could be committed. He was very plain in his habit and in his furniture ; but he knew the value of fine things, and would some-

tended to have made his coadjutor, having, to please the king's minister Chievres, induced that prince to write him

sometimes admire them. He once looked upon a rich jewel, and asked its price; the merchant told him: "It is a very fine thing, said he, and worth the money, but the army is just disbanded; there are many poor soldiers, and with the value of it I can send a couple of hundred of them home with each a piece of gold in his pocket." All his foundations, and other acts of generosity, were out of the other moiety. His university of Alcalá was a most stupendous foundation, begun and finished in eight years; he endowed there forty-six professorships, and at his death left it a settled revenue of fourteen thousand ducats per annum. His regulations must have cost him at least as much thought as his buildings and endowments. He saw clearly that ignorance was the bane of religion, and the only thing that made the inquisition necessary; for, if men understood the Christian religion, there could be no need to fear either Judaism or Mohammedism. Cardinal Granvelle, when he came into Spain, and had attentively considered this foundation, delivered his opinion in these words: "Time delights in hiding the origin of things; though we know it not, this man must have been of royal race, or at least the soul of a prince lodged in his private bosom." His granaries were likewise so amazing, so well built, that they are not yet in decay; so well

contrived, that they are always full: those at Toledo hold twenty thousand measures of corn, those at Alcalá ten thousand, those at Tordelaguna, where he was born, five thousand, those at Cisneros, where his family was settled, the same quantity. His hospitals and his nunneries, in conjunction with these granaries, have banished want from his diocese. It was supposed that he would have left the direction of all these to his own order, and it was intimated to him. "By no means, said the cardinal; out of the revenue of the see of Toledo have I done all this, God forbid I should deprive the prelates my successors of their right, or their reward for seeing them duly applied." He was, however, no flatterer of prelates; for, upon visiting his diocese, and finding in the church of the Franciscans at Toledo a marble tomb near the altar, for Don Troilo Carrillo, the son of his predecessor, he ordered the inscription to be effaced, and the tomb to be removed. "It is better, said he, that the remains of this child of sin should lie in some obscure place, than this mark of a bishop's incontinency should stare here mankind in the face." He was very learned himself, and the great patron and protector of learning; he wrote several pieces of divinity, that were never printed, as also the life of king Wamba, and some notes upon the scripture, which are yet preserved.

He

him a letter of dismissal, which others say he did not receive till in his last agony, so that he never knew its contents^q. The king repaired with his sister Donna Leonora to Tordeillas, to pay his duty to his mother, and thither went the archbishop of Saragossa, to make a report of the affairs of Arragon; but Chievres, being apprehensive that he might demand the archbishopric of Toledo, which he intended for his nephew, prevailed upon the king not to see him, and to refuse him an audience of the queen Donna Joanna for the same reason^r. This was the first disgust given to the Spaniards by the king, and perhaps would never have happened if cardinal Ximenes had once seen him, and had given him the lessons he intended for his service; to prevent which, those who dreaded their effects had recourse to that detestable expedient which has been before-mentioned. There were some commotions this year in Sicily, though the king had changed the viceroy, and the Moors also began to infest the coasts of Granada and Andalusia^s.

In the month of January the Cortes, or assembly of the states, met at Valladolid, in which it was proposed, that the king should promise to observe the laws made at Burgos seven years before, implying, that no foreigners

This monarch finds great difficulty in obtaining that title from the states of Arragon.

^q Hernando del Pulgar.
val.

^r Argensola.

^s Sando.

He caused the works of Tostatus to be printed at a vast expence at Venice. The Complutensian edition of the holy scriptures, which was the first Polyglot ever printed, cost him a prodigious sum, besides the maintenance of all the learned persons employed in it, the manuscripts he purchased at immense rates, and the pains he took himself in revising and correcting. He was also at great charge in publishing the Mozarabic liturgy, for which he had so high a veneration, that he established a chapel

with twelve canons for reviving this office; and, with regard to other foundations, we have no room to enumerate them. Upon the whole, we have great reason to believe that he spoke truth when he said upon his death-bed, that, to the best of his knowledge, he had not misapplied a single crown of his revenue. Philip the Fourth was at great pains to have procured his canonization with the popes Innocent X. and Alexander the Seventh; but we have never been let into the reasons why they did not succeed (1).

(1) Pulgar, Vida del Card. Ximen. Vida y Prodigios del Card. Francisco de Cisneros. Epist. Ximen. ad Car. Apud. Alv. Gomez, de Rebus, Gest. Ximen.

should be capable of any dignity or employment either in church or state in Castile, and that no money should be sent out of the kingdom; but the bishop of Badajoz having represented to them, that they ought not to suspect their monarch, and assured them he would grant all they desired, they took the usual oaths, and granted him a free gift of six hundred thousand ducats, payable in three years: then, he promised to observe the laws, and more especially those on which they most insisted^t. The king caused his sister Donna Catalina to be privately taken from her mother; but, the queen refusing to eat or drink for two days, there was a necessity of sending her back^u. Charles having appointed a council of regency, went to hold the states of Arragon, and, in his passage, had an interview with his brother, whom he persuaded to go to Flanders, being jealous of his remaining in Spain, where he was infinitely beloved. About this time he named William de Croy, Chievres's nephew, to the archbishoprick of Toledo, a promotion which was highly disagreeable to the people of Castile^w. He arrived at Saragossa in the beginning of May, where, though he confirmed all their privileges, yet they made a difficulty of owning him for their king while the queen his mother lived; but at last they were prevailed upon by the archbishop of Saragossa not only to proclaim, but also to grant him a free gift of two hundred thousand crowns. His kind usage and respect so wrought on queen Germana, that she made a voluntary cession of her rights to the kingdom of Navarre, not as the heiress of the house of Albret, but of the house of Foix^x; and here also he consented, for reasons of state, to the marriage of his sister Donna Leonora to the king of Portugal, who had married her two aunts before, which was a new subject of distaste^y. Towards the close of the year the great cities in Castile began to form a confederacy for the redress of grievances, and sent an agent into Arragon, to make remonstrances to the king. In Africa the Spaniards restored the Moorish king of Tremecen, and killed the famous corsair Barbarossa, who was succeeded by his brother; but a fleet that was fitted out for the recovery of Algiers was shattered by a tempest^z. This year also the king was elected, in the diet at Augs- burg, king of the Romans, though his grandfather was

A.D. 1513.

^t Carvajal.

^u Vera y Figueroa.

^w Ferreras.

^x Histoire de Languedoc.

^y Faria y Sousa.

^z San-

doyal.

more

more inclined to his brother Don Ferdinand, and the French king Francis the First had also a party who favoured his election ^a.

*Is elected
emperor on
the demise
of his
grandfa-
ther Max-
imilian.*

In the beginning of the ensuing year the king went into Catalonia, where he met with the like difficulties as in Arragon, but at length they were got over. He was at Barcelona when he received the news of the death of his grandfather Maximilian, and remained there till he had advice of his own election, which was made on the 28th of June ^b, and accepted by his ambassadors. Pope Leo having granted him the tenths of all ecclesiastical revenues for the support of his war against the Turks, he ordered an assembly of the clergy to be held at Barcelona; in which Adrian, formerly dean of Louvain, now cardinal bishop of Tortosa, presided; but, notwithstanding all he could say, the clergy refused to gratify the king, or to obey the pope; which refusal so irritated Leo the Tenth, that he put Castile under an interdict; but this being their own case, the clergy found out, that, when the pope's censures were without any just cause, they ought to have no effect; and the king thereupon interceding with the pope, it was recalled. In the month of November the duke of Bavaria arrived in character of ambassador from the empire; and, at his first audience, did homage to Don Carlos, who now assumed the title of majesty, in which he was imitated by other kings. We shall conform to the common usage, and style him hereafter emperor, though the Spanish writers never gave him any other title than that of king ^c. Towards the close of the year there was a dangerous insurrection in Valentia, in which the emperor acted a strange part. The commons, comprehending the several incorporated companies of tradesmen in that city, entered into a solemn confederacy, under pretence of redressing the grievances they laboured under from the nobility; and the emperor being informed that the nobles and clergy were determined to oppose his demands in the assembly of the states, encouraged them, and actually put the government of the city into their hands ^d. This year the famous Ferdinand Magellan received the emperor's commission to sail in quest of a new passage to the Moluccas, and departed from the port of Seville, with a squadron of five vessels, on the 8th

A.D. 1519.

^a Alphonso Ulloa.
na.

^b Pet. Mart.

^c Mariana.

^d Gaspar Escolano Historia de la Ciudad y Reyno de Valencia.

of August; but the history of this expedition belongs to another place.

At the time the troubles broke out in Valentia, the city was so much afflicted with the plague, that most of the nobility were absent; but, as it ceased in the winter, they began to return to their houses in the beginning of the year, but met with a very bad reception from the populace, who gave their confederacy the title of Germania, implying the confederacy of patriots, or true friends to their country. The nobles sent a deputation to the emperor, to represent to him the inconveniences that attended his concessions. The emperor promised them fair, and, having sworn to observe the laws and privileges of the kingdom, sent cardinal Adrian to open the states; but upon their refusing to consent to any thing, unless his majesty was present, he confirmed all that he had formerly done in favour of the Germanats, a measure which augmented the troubles^e. As he was resolved to return into Flanders, and from thence to proceed into the empire, he appointed an assembly of the states of Castile at Compostella in Galicia; a step never taken by any of his predecessors, and which increased the discontent that reigned throughout that kingdom. He went from Barcelona to Saragossa, and from thence to Valladolid, where the deputies of Toledo and Salamanca met him, and desired an audience, which he put off, on pretence that he was in a hurry to set out for Compostella. Next day, going to visit his mother at Tordeillas, a rumour prevailed that he was going directly to embark, and would take the queen with him; upon which a general insurrection was raised at Valladolid, in which his person was in some danger, and the court extremely alarmed. This provoked him exceedingly; but when he came to know the truth, he was appeased, and only a few of the seditious were punished^f. At Compostella the states fell into such confusion, that, after banishing the deputies of Toledo, the king adjourned them to Corunna, where, partly by threats, partly by promises, he obtained a subsidy of two hundred millions of marvadies, notwithstanding the cities of Toledo, Salamanca, Toro, Murcia, Madrid, Cordova, and others, protested against it^g. He then appointed cardinal Adrian regent of Castile and Leon, and the governors of other parts of his dominions; after which precautions he embarked on the 21st of May, with a few

The commons of Castile revolt against the government under various chiefs.

^e Pet. Mart. Epist.

^f Sandoval.

^g Ferreras.

A.D. 1520.

*Upon the
emperor's
departure,
Valentia
also re-
volts, and
the insur-
rection be-
comes ge-
neral in
Castile.*

Spanish lords and all his Flemish ministers, who carried away an immense sum of money, and in six days arrived in the port of Sandwich, where he was received by cardinal Wolsey, to whom he promised the bishoprick of Badajoz; but, instead of it, gave him a pension of two thousand five hundred ducats, and that prelate was much more in his secrets than his master. However, king Henry met him, and conducted him to Canterbury, where he passed the Whitsun holidays. After having remitted the disputes between him and the French monarch to the decision of king Henry, he embarked on the 30th of May for Flanders, and landed safely at Flushing^b.

The city of Toledo had revolted before his departure, and soon after most of the great cities in Castile followed its example; and those who entered into this league styled themselves Los Comuneros, or the commons. Don Juan Padilla, excited chiefly by his wife Donna Maria Pacheco, daughter to the count of Tendilla, was at the head of those malecontents, and quickly assembled a great army, in which they carried a black standard. On the 2d of September they seized Tordefillas, where Don Juan had an audience of the queen, and told her, that her son Don Carlos having quitted his dominions precipitately, and a civil war being likely to arise, they had brought her the forces of Toledo, Segovia, and Madrid, for her security. The queen said, if she had known her father was dead, she would have provided for the government of the kingdom, and the due administration of justice. She desired them to transfer their assembly thither, which they did, and displaced the marquis of Denia, who was governor of the castle, and several others of her attendants, with whom the queen was displeasedⁱ. The president and royal council dispersed, and fled in disguise, and the cardinal regent retired with some difficulty from Valladolid. In the mean time dispatches arrived from Flanders, by which the constable and admiral of Castile were associated with the cardinal in the regency, who, in the month of November, established the council at Burgos, notwithstanding the assembly of the commons at Tordefillas forbid them to assume the government^k. The regents raised an army, and appointed the count de Haro to command it; and, on the other hand, Don Antonio de Acuna, bishop of Zamora, who had joined the commons, engaged them to give the command of their forces to Don Pedro

^b Ulloa.ⁱ Ferreras.^k Vera y Figueroa.

Gironne,

Gironne, a step which disgusted Don Juan Padillo, and their former chiefs; and it soon appeared that Don Pedro was not thoroughly in their interest, for he suffered the count de Haro to surprise Tordefillas, and, fearing their resentment, retired; upon which they appointed Don Juan Padilla to command their forces¹. In the mean time, the Germanats committed as great disorders in Valentia; and the like disturbances would have infallibly happened in Arragon, if it had not been for the prudence of the archbishop of Saragossa^m.

The coronation and other proceedings of his imperial majesty in Germany, where, at this time, the dawning of the Reformation gave him full employment, as they belong properly to another part of this work, shall not interrupt us here. We shall content ourselves with observing, that, pretty early in the spring, William de Croy, archbishop of Toledo, was killed by a fall from his horse; and that, a short time after his death, followed that of his uncle Chievres, who, though a minister of consummate abilities, yet was so avaricious, and had a wife who so much exceeded him in that vice, as not only to draw great odium upon themselves, but to create many inconveniences to the emperor. The civil war in Castile was continued with great violence on both sides; that of the commons deriving great advantages from the intrigues of Donna Maria de Padilla, and no less from a long letter written by the cardinal regent to the emperor, which they intercepted, and published. In this letter he told him, that the commons did not act so much from a spirit of rebellion, as from a desire of being governed with justice and moderation, as in the days of his grandfather; and that it was not from a sense of loyalty that he was supported by the nobles, but from a regard to the interest they had in breaking the power of the commons, and making themselves so much the more necessary to the crown; that while he had corrupt and rapacious ministers about him, no effectual remedy could ever be applied; and therefore, if he would act prudently, he should immediately remove all such from about his person, and restore the public tranquillity, by giving just satisfaction to his subjectsⁿ. The nobility, having thoroughly quieted the city of Burgos, strongly reinforced their army with old troops; and having prevailed upon such of their brethren as had countenanced the commons, to withdraw from them, sent ex-

The rebels defeated, and their chiefs beheaded.

¹ Sandoval.

^m Gaspar Escolano.

ⁿ Sandoval.

A D. 1521. ^c ————— press orders to the count de Haro to fight. The army of the commons were also inclined to put all upon the issue of a battle; but their general Don Juan de Padilla, a young man, and of no great experience, though personally brave, endeavoured to avoid it, being very sensible of the enemies superiority in all respects; but not being general enough to manage that design with success, the count de Haro charged his army in its retreat, broke and routed it without difficulty, and made the three principal officers who commanded it prisoners^o. The battle was fought on the 23d of April, near Villabar; and as the victory was gained with courage, it was improved with conduct; for the very next day, Don Juan de Padilla, Don Juan de Bravo, and Don Francisco Maldonado, were beheaded; but Don Pedro Maldonado was spared, out of respect to the count de Benavente^p. Upon this occasion almost all the cities submitted, except Toledo, where the bishop of Zamora took upon him to be primate by the choice of the people, and Donna Maria de Padilla kept up their spirits with great address, and would have been truly worthy of the character of a heroine, if she had not also been guilty of some inexcusable acts of violence. The forces commanded by the bishop of Zamora being defeated by the prior of St. John, who commanded the army of the nobles, Toledo was at length forced to capitulate, except the alcazar, where Donna Maria, with her adherents, had intrenched, and defended themselves with great intrepidity. The troubles of Castile, great as they were, fell short of those in Valentia, where the Germanats made open war upon the nobility, who at length were obliged to arm and defend themselves. Several sieges were made on both sides, several battles fought, but in the end, chiefly through their want of moderation and conduct, the Germanats were subdued^q. The same humour also prevailed in Majorca, where the viceroy was forced to take shelter in the island of Yvica^r. The French, during these disturbances, had twice attacked, and once conquered, the kingdom of Navarre; but, as all the strong places had been demolished by cardinal Ximenes, they were very speedily driven out again; yet they made themselves masters of Fontarabia in the bay of Biscay^s. In Italy also the war was hot between the emperor and Francis I. the pope siding with the former, and the Venetians with the latter. By the

^o Alphonso Ulloa.
lano.

^r Vincent Mut.

^p Ferreras.

^s Ferreras.

^q Gaspar Escolano's
emperor's

emperor's intrigues with cardinal Wolsey, Henry VIII. concluded a treaty on the 24th of November, by which he engaged to assist the pope and the emperor, and promised the latter his daughter the princess Mary, whom he had before betrothed to the dauphin; but the views of this alliance were broken by the death of Leo the Tenth, which happened on the 2d of December¹.

The cardinal bishop of Tortosa being chosen pope in the beginning of the year, after receiving the compliments of all the Spanish nobility, set out for Arragon, and afterwards embarked at Tarragona for Italy. Being seated on the pontifical throne, he retained his own name, and was styled Adrian VI. and, before his departure from Spain, had the pleasure of hearing that the alcazar of Toledo had been forced, upon which Donna Maria de Padilla had made her escape. She fled in disguise into Portugal, where it is said she lived but meanly upon a small pension granted her by the archbishop of Braga². The emperor, resolving to return into Spain, appointed his brother Don Ferdinand vicar of the empire, and Donna Margaretta, his aunt, governess of Flanders. He then proceeded by land to Calais, and so passed to Dover³. He was received in England, where he landed about the end of May, with all possible marks of esteem and kindness. He was installed knight of the Garter at Windsor, and, which was the principal intent of his visit, he pacified Wolsey, who had taken some offence. He granted him a pension of nine thousand gold crowns, and promised him an equivalent for his former pension, which pope Adrian had revoked; he renewed his promise of marriage to the princess Mary, and, having taken leave of the king, and of the queen, his aunt, passed over to Calais, and embarked on board his fleet, consisting of a hundred and fifty sail, on the 6th of July, and landed safely at port St. Andero on the 16th of the same month⁴. The admiral and constable went thither to pay their respects, and to give an account of their regency. They were extremely well received, as were all the rest of the Spanish nobility, who had distinguished themselves during the troubles⁵. Four thousand Germans, and two thousand Flemish foot, which he brought on board his fleet, were sent into Biscay to serve against the French. He went from St. Andero to

The emperor, in his return to Spain, comes into England and concludes a treaty with Henry VIII.

¹ Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII.

² Rainald.

³ Ulloa.

⁴ Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII.

⁵ Sandoval.

A.D. 1522.

Valentia, and from thence to Valladolid. After he had repofed himfelf there a few days, he went to Tordesillas, to fee his mother, and found her, notwithstanding the reports to the contrary, not at all wifer than when he left her ^z. On the 28th of October a magnificent theatre was erected in the fquare of Valladolid, with a throne for his imperial majefty, and benches for the nobility, in whose prefence the general pardon was read, which was as full as poffible; but about fourfcore perfons, many of them ecclefiaftics, were excepted by name; of whom Don Pedro Pimentel de Talavera was executed at Palentia, and ten or twelve more in other places. The council told him that few examples had been made; the emperor answered, there are enough. A perfon, who expected a reward, informed him where one of the moft confiderable perfons lay hid, and believing that he had forgot it, put him in mind of it again; upon which the emperor faid fmiling, "You had better let him know I am here, than tell me where he is ^z." The Germanats were entirely fubdued in Majorca, as well as Valentia; and the queen-dowager of Portugal, Donna Leonora, the emperor's fifter, returned into Spain ^b.

*Holds an
affembly of
the ftates
at Palentia
and makes
many
good laws.*

The French, who had been long blocked up in Fontarabia, were relieved in the beginning of the year by a fmall army that entered Bifcay for that purpofe: and the emperor being apprehenfive of an irruption into Catalonia, fent thither the prior of St. John, with the title of viceroy, and a confiderable body of troops. In the month of July he held an affembly of the ftates of Caftile at Palentia, from whom he obtained a free gift of four hundred thoufand ducats, and, in return, affented to feveral good laws. He afterwards went in perfon into the kingdom of Navarre, and fent the conftable of Caftile to perfuade the prince of Orange to make an irruption into France ^c.

A.D. 1523.

There happened this year a dreadful plague in the kingdom of Arragon ^d. Pope Adrian VI. dying on the 24th of September, was fucceeded in the papacy by Julius de Medicis, who affumed the name of Clement VII. and this year count Pedro Navarro, who had been long prifoner in the caftle of Simencas, having been taken in Italy fighting for the French, put an end to a long captivity by ftabbing himfelf with a knife ^e.

^z Ferreras.^z Vera y Figueroa.^b Gaspar Escolano.^c Mayerne, Turquet.

Gaspar. Escol.

^e Ferreras.

In the spring Fontarabia was besieged and taken by the Spaniards^f. The shah of Persia sent an ambassador, or at least a person charged with his letter, to invite the emperor to an alliance against the Turks. The disputes that had arisen between the crowns of Castile and Portugal, with respect to the Moluccas, were terminated, or at least suspended, in consideration of a sum of money, and the marriage of the king Don Juan with the infanta Donna Catalina, the emperor's youngest sister, who still resided with the queen at Tordesillas^g. In Italy the Imperialists obliged the French to repass the Alps; and soon after the duke of Bourbon, who was then in the service of the emperor, made an irruption into Provence, and besieged Marseilles; which enterprize, however, he was obliged to abandon. Before the end of the year Francis I. entered Italy with a powerful army, recovered Milan and besieged Pavia^h.

The shah of Persia sends an ambassador to the emperor in Castile.

A.D. 1524.

The marquis de Pesquaira, who commanded the Spanish army in Italy, marching to the relief of that city, defeated the French army, and made the king, Francis I. prisoner. The emperor, when he received the news, is said to have retired into his closet, to give God thanks before he divulged itⁱ. This extraordinary success once more changed the face of affairs in that country. In Spain they were desirous of making the most of their royal prisoner, and the emperor held a council of state how it might be best done. His confessor, the bishop of Osma, advised him to set the king at liberty without ransom, which generosity he thought would bind him more than any treaty; but the duke of Alba proposed that he should restore the duchy of Burgundy, and all that he had taken in Flanders; and that he should give the county of Provence in sovereignty to the duke of Bourbon. Adrian de Croy was sent to him into Italy to propose to him these terms, with which that king was so much enraged, that, if it had not been for the Spanish lords who were about him, he would have dispatched himself with his dagger. At length growing somewhat calm, he said he would perish in the vilest prison in Spain rather than dismember from his dominions the smallest province^k.

Francis I. routed and taken prisoner in the battle of Pavia.

Many of the Italian princes, upon this victory, began to be apprehensive of the emperor's power, and of that facility with which he might, at this juncture, make him-

Consents to go into Spain to treat in person with the emperor.

^f Sandoval.

^g Goes.

^h Ferreras.

ⁱ Ulloa.

^k Vera y Figueroa.

self master of Italy. They secretly negotiated a league against him, and at the same time concerted with the utmost privacy how to procure the liberty of the French king. The first they in some measure brought to bear, but were absolutely disappointed in the latter; since, notwithstanding they offered immense advantages to Don Ferdinand de Alarcon, in whose custody the king was, he absolutely refused to betray the trust that was reposed in him¹. Mr. Launoy, viceroy of Naples, took occasion from hence to suggest to the king, that the most secure and speedy way of obtaining his liberty, would be to pass over into Spain, and negotiate it with the emperor himself. Francis was extremely pleased with this project, as believing that his eloquence might make some impression on the mind of his imperial majesty. With this view, the design being conducted with great secrecy, the king embarked for Naples, as it was given out, but in reality for Spain, and landed at Palamas in Catalonia, from whence he was conducted by Valentia to Madrid, and there lodged in the alcazar, or castle, under the care of Alarcon^m. He found very soon that he had deceived himself; for, notwithstanding he was received every where with great solemnity and magnificence, and treated by all the nobility admitted to his presence with great respect, yet he was very strictly confined; and, when he pressed for an audience of the emperor, was told, he was not to expect it till the terms on which he was to obtain his liberty were adjustedⁿ. The point chiefly insisted upon was the restitution of the duchy of Burgundy, which the king absolutely refused, but offered an equivalent; and, finding the treaty drawn into a great length, fell dangerously ill; of which illness the emperor, who diverted himself in making a tour to the principal places in Spain, being informed at Toledo, resolved to make him a visit, and set out immediately for the castle of Madrid.

Their interview at Madrid, which in the end produces nothing.

As soon as he came into the room, he uncovered, and embraced the king, who sat upon his bed; after which ceremony they were for some time silent. At length the king said, "You see your slave and prisoner." "I see," said the emperor, "a free prince, who is my dear brother and my true friend." Francis replied, "No, he is your slave." "Not so," added the emperor, "but my

¹ Mariana. ^m Primera Parte de la Carolea Enchiridion, che Trata de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V. hasta al ano 1585, por Juan Ochoa de la Salde, fol. 1585. ⁿ Sandoval.

friend and my brother ; your recovery is the thing in the world which I have most at heart ; at present think of nothing but to regain your health ; all the rest shall be settled afterwards just as you please." No," said Francis, " but in the manner you prescribe." After an interview of half an hour, the emperor retired °. The next day he made him another visit in the evening, and, while he was with him, the king's sister, madame d'Alençon, arrived from France, whom the emperor himself introduced into his presence, and treated with all imaginable respect °. After this interview he returned to Toledo. The king grew worse after his departure, and was once in such an agony that his sister covered his face, believing him dead ; he received also the sacraments of the church, but, by the care of the emperor's physicians, he at length recovered, though very slowly °. Madame d'Alençon, at the king's request, followed the emperor to Toledo, but returned without success ; and she was not happy in a scheme she projected for his escape, which was discovered by his valet de chambre °. To push things to the utmost, the king sent the emperor word, that as he was determined never to part with the duchy of Burgundy, he had only to regulate the place and manner in which he should be confined during his life. The emperor answered, that would be soon done ; but that he was sorry to find he was so unwilling to give, as a ransom, what in point of conscience he was bound to restore ° (H). In

° Ferreras.
Daniel.

° Mezeray.
° Gonzalo Hern. de Oviedo.

° Sandoval.

° P.

(H) Charles the Bald, duke of Burgundy, left only one daughter Mary, who espoused Maximilian of Austria, by whom she had Philip, the father of Charles the Fifth. Upon the death of her father, Lewis XI. then king of France, annexed the duchy of Burgundy to the crown, pretending that, by the general word *heirs*, heirs male were only intended ; and this construction was allowed and confirmed by the states of the duchy. This, however, was considered by Maximilian, afterwards empe-

rot, as a flagrant act of injustice, because king John, who re-annexed it to the crown of France, and gave it afterwards to his son Robert, actually came to it by inheritance from his mother, and might be presumed to grant it upon the like terms to his son. France, whatever her title might be, still kept the duchy of Burgundy ; though the county of Charolois, which was a fief of this duchy, was yielded by Lewis XI. to the archduke Philip, and from him descended to his son Charles the Fifth, from whom

A new alliance, styled by the pope the Holy League, concerted against the emperor.

In the mean time the duke of Bourbon arrived in Spain, and went to wait upon the emperor at Toledo, who, when he heard of his approach, went out to meet him, though it rained, embraced him, and shewed such high testimonies of esteem, that madame d'Alençon resolved to return to France^c. Francis, not long after, changed his mind, and offered to restore the duchy of Burgundy, provided the emperor would give him his sister the queen dowager of Portugal in marriage, and the duchy of Milan in dowry; adding, that he would give one of his sons and twelve of the first nobility in France as hostages for the performance of the treaty. The emperor was a little embarrassed, having promised the queen, as he afterwards did the duchy, to the duke of Bourbon; but that princess disengaged him, by declaring she would marry the king, and not the duke^d. The Italian states, before the end of the year, had brought their scheme to bear; the pope, the Venetians, and the Florentines, entering into an alliance, which, out of respect to the first of these potentates, was styled the Holy League; to the support of which it was understood that both England and France would concur; for the emperor having disoblinded cardinal Wolfey, by no longer writing to him with his own hand,

^c P. Daniel.

^d Mezeray.

whom it was taken under pretence of felony, but was again restored by the treaties of Chateau Cambrensis, and Verbins; afterwards seized again by the crown of France, and restored again to that of Spain, by the treaty of the Pyrenees (1). It was then bestowed by Philip IV. upon the great Conde, and has remained ever since in his family, and gives at this day the title of a count to one of the princes his descendants (2). As to the Franche Compté, it belonged, without dispute, to Maximilian of Austria, in right of his

marriage, and from him descended to Charles V. who annexed it, together with all the provinces of the Low Countries, to the empire, under the title of the Circle of Burgundy (3). Thus the reader sees the true source of that bitter animosity which reigned between these two great princes, descended, together with their dominions, to their posterity, and proved the cause of so many wars, and so much disturbance, not only to their own dominions, but through all Christendom.

(1) Corps Diplom. de Droit des Gens, tom. vi. p. ii. p. 264.
 (2) Nouvelle Descript. de la France, par M. Piganiol de la Force, tom. iii. p. 213. Geog. Mod. par du Bois.
 (3) Cluv. d'Audiffret, du Bois, &c.

and subscribing, as he was wont to do, "Your son and cousin, Charles," that insolent priest had prevailed with his master Henry VIII. to change sides, and to promise his daughter Mary to the dauphin; a step which induced his imperial majesty to conclude his own marriage with the infanta Donna Isabella of Portugal, though they were both grandchildren to Ferdinand and Isabella^w. This was afterwards, notwithstanding, thrust into the reasons of the war, and urged against the emperor as a notorious breach of faith.

His confinement growing more and more uneasy, the French king, finding that his solicitations had little or no effect, resolved to indemnify himself, when at liberty, for the concessions he was obliged to make in order to obtain it. The conditions of this famous peace, which, from the place where it was made, is styled, the Treaty of Madrid, were the restitution of the duchy of Burgundy, the renunciation of all rights pretended over the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, the city of Genoa, and the town of Ast, the sovereignty claimed over certain states and towns in the Low Countries, the obliging Don Henry d'Albret to quit the title of king of Navarre, giving full satisfaction to Germana queen dowager of Arragon, and to the prince of Orange, restoring his estates and dignities to the duke of Bourbon, and the like favour to be reciprocally extended by the emperor, as well as the king, to all who suffered in any degree by this quarrel^x. On the 15th of January the peace was published, the king set at liberty, and his marriage with the queen dowager of Portugal celebrated by proxy, her dowry being settled by the treaty. It was also stipulated that the dauphin should marry her daughter the infanta Donna Maria; and that the king should not only give the dauphin, but his brother and twelve young noblemen, for hostages. To the performance of all these articles the king swore in the most solemn manner: but some say he made as solemn a protestation before he took the oath, that what he did was by absolute constraint; and that his true intention was to perform his promise no farther than it should be reasonable. Of this mental reservation the emperor had some information, or at least a strong suspicion; so that notwithstanding the king solemnly espoused Donna Leonora, yet he would not remit that princess into her husband's possession, till the treaty was executed, but sent him soon after with

The French king at last finds it requisite to conclude the treaty of Madrid.

^w Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII.

^x Sandoval.

all exterior marks of kindness into his own dominions ^y, while he went to celebrate his own marriage with the infanta Donna Ifabella of Portugal ^z. About this time the bishop of Zamora was executed in the castle of Simencas, where for some years he had been confined.

When at liberty declares he will execute it so far only as he thinks reasonable.

Charles de Lanoy and Don Ferdinand d'Alarcon, attended king Francis to the frontiers, and received the hostages, whom as soon as they had delivered to the constable of Castile's son, they followed that prince, who very soon acquainted them that it was not in his power to restore Burgundy; but that he was willing to pay two millions of crowns for the ransom of his son and the rest of the hostages; and, on the 22d of May, he signed the Holy League at Paris ^a. His ambassadors soon after signified as much to the emperor. The ministers of the rest of the allies demanded that he should cause the siege of the citadel of Milan to be raised, and put Francis Sforza into the possession of the city and duchy; that he should renounce the kingdom of Naples, should pay what was due to the king of England, and send no more troops into Italy; otherwise they would declare war against him, and compel him to perform what they demanded ^b. The emperor answered, that the French king did not act as a monarch in breaking his word, nor as a Christian in renouncing his oath; that his parliaments could not dispense with either, since, before they were given, they approved both; that, with respect to the queen Donna Leonora, he ought to behave to her as his lawful wife; that the hostages were in his power, and he would do with them what he pleased; that the duke of Milan was his feudatory, and he meant to punish him as a rebel; that the Spanish troops in Lombardy acted by his orders, and should be recalled when he thought fit; that the kingdom of Naples was his inheritance; that he would come or go, or send into Italy, when he thought proper; and that he meant to pay the king of England out of the ransom due from the king of France; neither was he at all in doubt, that, with the assistance of God, he should defend his own rights, and protect his subjects, when attacked ^c. A severe edict was published this year against the Morescoes in the kingdom of Granada, and an insurrection made by them in the kingdom of Valentia was suppressed, and very rigorously punished. In Italy, the Imperialists made themselves masters of Milan, and took possession of the city of Rome, a

A D. 1526.

^y Ochea, ^z Ibid. ^a P. Daniel. ^b Mezeray. ^c Ferreras; circumstance

circumstance which obliged pope Clement VII. to shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, where, by dint of prayers and intreaties, he at last procured a truce for three months ^c.

The emperor held in the spring an assembly of the states at Valladolid, where he explained to them the motive of his calling them together, which was his want of money; but each of the orders suggested separately a plausible excuse, and agreed unanimously to grant him nothing; upon which they were dissolved about the middle of March ^d. On the 21st of May the empress was delivered of the prince Don Philip at Valladolid ^e, and, for the solemnity of his baptism, most prodigious preparations were made; but on a sudden, the emperor suspended all rejoicings, on account of what had happened at Rome, where the army of the duke of Bourbon had sacked the city, and the prince of Orange, who commanded the army after his decease, kept the pope blocked up in the castle of St. Angelo. For the safety and preservation of his holiness, the emperor caused public prayers to be made at Madrid, disavowing all that his generals did, though he reaped all the advantages from the steps they took, by which they became masters of all Italy, till general Lautrec entered it with a French army, though paid in a great measure by English money, by which means the face of affairs was quickly changed, and the pope, being at liberty to speak his own language, declared for the allies ^f.

Rome sacked by the Imperialists, commanded by the duke of Bourbon and the prince of Orange.

A.D. 1527.

The new year opened with a very new scene; two kings at arms, one styled Guienne, from the French king, and the other Clarence, from Henry of England, demanded a public audience of the emperor; which being granted, they first recapitulated the wrongs done to their respective masters, and then the insults offered to the pope, and the cruel plundering of Rome for two months together; in resentment of which they declared war. The emperor ordered his answers to be delivered to them in writing on the 25th of January. In that to the French king, he advised him not to put any trust in the promises of Wolsey, whose boundless ambition and inordinate avarice put him upon sowing discord between them. He said that minister had threatened the emperor, for not using his interest to advance him to the papacy, that he would so embroil the affairs of Christendom, that they should not be effectually settled again for one hundred years to come. He

Strange messages between Francis I. and the emperor Charles V.

^c Rainald.

^d Mariana.

^e Ferreras.

^f Rainald.

also intimated, that he doubted whether his ambassador had repeated to him, what he told him when he had an audience of him at Granada; of which particular Francis having demanded an explanation, the emperor said he told him, that he acted wickedly, and like a coward, in breaking his word, and forgetting his oath, which assertion he would maintain to his face, sword in hand ^z. The king of France sent Guienne with an answer, which was read at a public audience, importing, that if the emperor ever said the king of France behaved otherwise than became a good knight, he lied, and lied as often as he said so; and that he would make this assertion good in single combat. The emperor, by his king at arms, accepted the challenge, and assigned an island in the river dividing their dominions for the place where they should fight: but all this came to nothing ^h. The French tell this story otherwise, and, in its proper place, we shall give their account of the matter. In Spain the states of the several kingdoms swore to Don Philip as the heir apparent, and gave the emperor moderate supplies ⁱ. In Italy, the fortune of war varied. In

A D. 1528.

the beginning of the year the allies were successful; Philippine Doria, then in their service, defeated the Imperialists at sea; and the French, about Midsummer, besieged the city of Naples; but before the close of it, they were obliged to raise the siege, were defeated in their retreat by the prince of Orange, and a great part of them, who had taken shelter in Aversa, were obliged to capitulate. The city of Genoa likewise revolted from the French, and declared for the Imperialists, by the advice and with the assistance of the Dorias ^k, who were from thence regarded as deliverers of their country.

Treaty concluded between the emperor and pope Clement VII at Barcelona.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the emperor resolved to make a voyage to Italy, leaving his empress regent in Spain. As he was to embark at Barcelona, he summoned an assembly of the states of Catalonia for the first of May. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, the inhabitants sent deputies to know whether he would make his public entry in quality of emperor, or of their count, because of the ceremonial; to which demand he prudently gave this answer, that he preferred the title of count of Barcelona, made his entry in that quality, and obtained a generous supply from the states. While he was there, he concluded a treaty with the pope, by

^z Lord Herbert's Hist. of Henry VIII.

^h P. Daniel.

ⁱ Mariana.

^k Justiniani.

which

which he consented to give his natural daughter Margaret to Alexander Medicis, the pope's nephew, who was to have the state of Florence, with the title of duke; that the places taken from the holy see should be restored; that Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, should have justice done him; and that, after pacifying Italy, he would go into Germany, and, with the assistance of his brother Ferdinand, who was become king of Hungary, endeavour to reduce the Lutherans. On the other hand, the pope consented to acknowledge him in quality of king of Naples; that he should present to all archbishopricks and bishopricks; and that his holiness should grant free passage to his troops whenever he required it. The emperor swore to the due performance of this peace on the 29th of June, in the cathedral of Barcelona ¹.

In the mean time madame Louisa, mother to the French king, signified to madame Marguerite, the emperor's aunt, and governess of the Low Countries, that she would be glad to confer with her about a peace; of which proposal the emperor being informed, he sent full powers to his aunt. Madame Louisa having received the like from her son, set out for Cambray, where these two princesses, taking up their lodgings in houses that joined to each other, caused a door to be broke through the wall, that they might confer together when they pleased, without ceremony. The first conference was held on the 8th of July; the peace was signed, concluded, and the princesses swore to the execution thereof on the 5th of August following, in the cathedral church of Cambray; and, three days after, it was sworn to by Francis himself ^m. By this treaty he undertook to pay by the 1st of March two millions of crowns of gold for his ransom, and to withdraw his troops out of Italy in six months. The king of England was likewise comprised in this treaty. On the 12th of August the emperor made his public entry into Naples, where he received, and swore to, the treaty of Cambray. He had afterwards an interview, and was twice crowned by the pope; and, before the close of the year, he concluded a peace with the Venetians, and a treaty of commerce ⁿ. While his Imperial majesty was at Bologna, Francis Sforza went thither, and threw himself at his feet, telling him, that he relied upon his clemency, and his own innocence; then he began to make many protesta-

*Peace of
Cambray
made by the
French
king's mo-
ther and
the empe-
ror's aunt.*

A.D. 1529.

¹ Ferreras.
tory of Henry VIII.

^m P. Daniel.

ⁿ Lord Herbert's His-

tions of his fidelity ; but the emperor perceiving that he was sick and weak, took him up, embraced him, and promised to restore him his dominions upon very moderate terms, at which all the world was surpris'd *. This year the younger Barbarossa, who had succeeded his brother at Algiers, defeated a squadron of the emperor's gallies on the coast of Spain, and took or sunk six out of eight, an event which gave the emperor great displeasure †.

The emperor grants the city of Tripoli, with Malta and Gofa, to the knights of St. John.

The spring was spent in Italy in carrying the peace, which was proclaimed in the cathedral of Bologna on new-year's day, into execution, in ceremonies requisite to establish the emperor's authority, and in perfecting the concession of the islands of Malta and Gofa, together with Tripoli in Barbary, with all their castles, fortresses, and other dependencies, to the military order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, of which they were put in possession by Hector Pignatelli, viceroy of Sicily, on the 1st of April following ‡. After these things were dispatched, the emperor, pursuant to the promise he had made the pope, set out for Germany, and, in his passage, was splendidly entertained by the marquis of Mantua. The keys were presented to him in all the cities belonging to the Venetians, by an express order from the senate ; and his brother Ferdinand, king of Hungary, met him at Inspruck, in Tirol : but the remainder of this journey, and the consequences of it, belong to the history of the empire, where they will be found. That insult which had been offered to his arms by the corsairs, under the command of Barbarossa, affected him to such a degree, that he sent orders to Andrew Doria, esteemed one of the best seamen of that age, to revenge it at all events. Doria had a good squadron of his own, which he not only reinforced with all the Spanish gallies that were ready to put to sea, but demanded also, in the name of the emperor, assistance from Francis I. who sent him ten gallies, well manned §. Arriving at Majorca, he was informed that Barbarossa had sixty gallies under his command, all excellently provided ; that, with half of these, he had sailed to Algiers, and the other half, under the command of Haly, was at Sargel. To this port he sailed, forced his passage in, plundered the adjacent country, forced the enemy to take shelter in a fortress on shore, and brought away two gallies and seven smaller ones ; but George Pallavicini, with three com-

* Ochoa. † Ferreras. ‡ P. Daniel. § Vera y Figuerca.
• P. Daniel.

panies of Italians, being sent to recover the Christian captives, after having performed that service, fell to plundering, and thereby gave the Turks an opportunity of surrounding and cutting him and all his people to pieces^t. The release of the dauphin and the duke of Orleans was postponed from the 1st of March to the 1st of July, the French king not being able to raise the money before, and then they were delivered by Don Alvaro de Lugos, at Fontarabia, upon the receipt of one million two hundred thousand crowns, the other eight hundred thousand being assigned to the king of England^u. At the same time queen Leonora was received by cardinal Tournon and marshal Montmorency^v. On the 30th of November died the princess Margaret, who directed that her body should be interred at Granada, near those of their catholic majesties Ferdinand and Isabella. She was replaced in the government of the Low Countries by Donna Maria, queen-dowager of Hungary^x.

A.D. 1539.

While the emperor was engaged in Germany, as well with disputes about religion as with a war against the Turks, the government in Spain found themselves not a little embarrassed with the pope, who sent thither several bulls of different natures, which they directed to be examined as to their compatability with the laws, before they were carried into execution. Some of the inferior clergy began to preach in a very seditious strain, and to insule into the minds of the people an apprehension that the church was in danger; which discouries, considering the emperor's absence, might have been attended with great inconveniences, but for the vigilance and activity, as well as the loyalty and steadiness, of cardinal Tavera, archbishop of Toledo, president of the council of Castile, and the rest of the ministers^y. The emperor received their remonstrances on this head very kindly, and promised to address himself on this subject to the pope. He directed also, that a collection should be made of the opinions given by the divines and lawyers in their catholic majesty's dominions at the time the marriage was under consideration between the infanta Donna Catalina and Henry prince of Wales, brother to prince Arthur, her former husband^z. He farther ordered, that levies should be made for the war against the Turks; and that the frontiers towards

He takes precautions for securing his dominions against the French king.

^t Historia de Muchas Guerras entre Christianos y Infideles desde el anno 1546, hasta el 1565, por Pedro de Salazar. ^u Ferreras.

^v Mezeray. ^x Mariana. ^y Rainald. ^z Ochoa.

A.D. 1531.

France should be put into a proper state of defence, being still under some apprehension of Francis I. The pope, to make court to his imperial majesty, created, towards the close of the year, two Spanish cardinals, Don Alonso Manrique, archbishop of Seville, and Don Garcia Loyaza, archbishop of St. James of Compostella^a.

Solyman the Magnificent, afraid of the emperor's good fortune, leaves Hungary.

The emperor, who had spent the winter in the Low Countries, returned in the spring to Germany, in order to defend it against the Turks, their emperor Solyman the Magnificent being bent upon attacking Vienna with the whole force of his empire; but he abandoned that enterprise^b. In Spain, the empress held at Segovia the states of Castile and Leon, in which assembly many good laws were made. Andrew Doria had orders to oppose the Turkish fleet, which consisted of ninety galleys and a prodigious number of small vessels, with which they threatened desolation to the coasts of Italy and Spain. Doria had a fleet of equal strength, with ten thousand Spanish, Italian, and German troops on board. Upon the first intelligence of which, the Turks returning into port, left him at liberty to reduce Coron, and other fortresses in the Morea, after defeating in the field all the forces that could be brought to oppose them. Having left in the place first mentioned a Spanish garrison, under the command of Don Jerom Mendoza, he returned to Genoa, to wait the arrival of the emperor.

A.D. 1532.

Charles, having settled every thing in Germany, returned into Italy with a numerous army; and, having adjusted also the affairs of that country with the pope at Bologna, he resolved to return into Spain, where the state of his affairs, and the natural affection of that people for their sovereign, caused him to be very impatiently expected^c, as well as some abuses in the government, which naturally spring up in the long absence of the prince.

Andrew Doria defeats the Turkish fleet, and takes Coron, in the Morea.

In his journey from Bologna to Genoa, the emperor visited the field of battle, where Francis I. was taken. On the 10th of March he arrived at Genoa, and lodged in the palace of Andrew Doria. He afterwards embarked on board the galleys commanded by that famous admiral, and arrived safely at Barcelona on the 22d of April, where he found the empress, the prince Don Philip, and the infant Donna Maria, with the whole court, come thither to meet him^d. He found likewise an envoy from Muley Hosslein, king of Tunis, come to desire his assistance against the cor-

^a Sandoval.
zar, Ferreras.

^b Ochoa, Alphonso Ulloa.

^c Pedro de Salazar, Ferreras.

^d Ibid. Vera y Figueroa, Ferreras.

fair Barbarossa, by whom he had been driven out of his dominions. The emperor heard him very graciously, and promised his master relief. In the month of July he went to Moncon, where he held the states of Arragon, Catalonia, and Valentia. His secretary having explained to them the great things that the emperor had done for restoring the peace of Europe, and the defence of Christendom against the infidels, the kingdom of Arragon presented him with a free gift of two hundred thousand crowns, and Catalonia and Valentia gave in proportion. Don Alvaro Bazan, who was sent with a squadron of gallies to the coast of Barbary, performed great things there, took several places, and ruined a squadron of corsairs. The Turkish emperor Solymán sent a numerous army to besiege Coron by land, and a fleet with sixty gallies, and a considerable body of troops on board, to cover that siege; but the garrison making a brave defence, Andrew Doria failed to its relief. He defeated the Turkish fleet, changed the garrison, and supplied the place with all kinds of provision and ammunition; actions which so mortified Solymán, that he ordered the general who commanded his army to be strangled^e. He then caused Coron to be blocked up a second time, when the garrison being reduced to distress, the new governor was prevailed upon, against his own opinion, to make a sally with the best part of the troops in the place; but he conducted it with such address, and the Spanish troops behaved with such intrepidity, that it answered the end for which it was made. In his retreat he was furiously attacked by the Turks, who continued the engagement after their general was slain, and pushed it so far, that Don Rodrigo Machicao was likewise killed; but his lieutenant Hermosilla, taking the command, repulsed the Turks with so much spirit, that they were at length glad to permit him and his troops to enter the place^f.

In the spring the emperor held an assembly of the states of Castile at Madrid, in which some beneficial laws were made, and he obtained a large supply for carrying on the war against the infidels. He considered, however, that his new conquest of Coron could not be maintained but at a vast expence, and was of no real advantage to him, though of great consequence to the pope and the Venetians. Having, therefore, first offered it to his holiness, the Venetians, and to the grand-master of Malta, with an annual subsidy towards the maintenance of the garrison,

But the great expence of this conquest induces the emperor to quit it.

^e Ochoa.

^f Sandoval, Alphonso Ulloa.

and they having refused it, he sent orders to the viceroys of Naples and Sicily, to send a fleet to bring away the garri-son. This they did, together with the artillery and military stores, and all the Greek inhabitants and their effects. Upon the arrival of this fleet in Sicily, lands were assigned to the Greeks for their subsistence, and their posterity continue in possession of them to this day^z. Solymán the Magnificent, burning with a desire of revenge for the enterprize of Coron, sent for Barbarossa, and, to his own amazement, and to that of all the world, declared him a *basha*, and general of the Ottoman forces by sea. That these might not appear empty titles, he equipped a squadron of fourscore galleys, and ordered him, after repairing and fortifying Coron, to waste and destroy the coasts of Sicily and Italy; services which he punctually performed; and, after having terrified Rome itself, and acquired a great booty, returned in triumph to Tunis^h. The emperor was no sooner informed of this expedition than he sent instructions to Andrew Doria to hold his galleys in readiness; ordered the viceroys of Naples and Sicily to prepare their's; demanded assistance from the pope, the king of Portugal, and other Christian princes, and settled the general rendezvous of the whole fleet for the month of May in the ensuing year. In the mean time, he ordered Lewis Presendes, a Genoese by birth, and one of his own domestics, to go with two ships richly laden to Tunis, as a merchant, in order to examine the state of that place, and its fortifications, that he might take measures for his intended enterprize with greater certainty. On his arrival, however, Presendes was betrayed by a Moreisco servant; upon which Barbarossa caused his head to be cut off, and his body to be burnt without the cityⁱ. This year proved fatal to pope Clement VII. who was succeeded in the papal throne by cardinal Alexander Farnese, whom, some say, he nominated on his death-bed, and who, after his accession, assumed the name of Paul III. and this year also was established the famous order of Jesuits^k.

A.D. 1534.

His expedition into Africa, and the reduction of the fortress of Goletta.

The war of Africa so occupied the emperor's thoughts, that he seemed to have no other view than that of restoring the king of Tunis, and humbling the pride of the infidels. This design coincided so exactly with the interests of his neighbours, that the succours he received very

^z Sandoval, Alphonso Ulloa.
ⁱ Rainald, Pauli Jovii Hist. Adriani.
 Turquet, Ferreras.

^h Pedro de Salazar, Ochoa.
^k Mariana, Mayerné.

much surpassed his expectations. Don Lewis of Portugal brought a squadron of twenty-two ships of war, besides a large galleon, and two ships of a new construction, and of a size superior to any that had yet been seen. Andrew Doria's squadron of gallies was in every respect complete. One of them, which was intended for the emperor's person, had four benches of rowers, and the men were all clothed in silk. The emperor having made a general review, embarked for Sardinia, where, notwithstanding he met with very bad weather in his passage, he arrived on the 11th of June, and there found the Italian forces; so that when he weighed for the coasts of Barbary, he had one hundred and forty men of war and gallies, and two hundred and sixty vessels of smaller size¹. Barbarossa had fortified Tunis in the best manner he was able, and had assembled near one hundred thousand men for his defence. As he foresaw the Christians would make an attempt on the fortress of Goletta, he posted Sinan basha there with six thousand Turks. He was not mistaken; the emperor, having landed his army, formed the siege of that place, and took such precautions, that the corsair could not either relieve it, or oblige him to raise the siege. As soon as the artillery had made a breach that was practicable, the emperor caused it to be stormed in his presence by a body of old Spanish infantry, who, notwithstanding an obstinate defence made by the besieged, entered the place. In the mean time, the Italians, who were to have attacked the fortress on the side of the lake, finding that service impracticable, marched round with their ladders, notwithstanding they were exposed to all the fire of the enemy's artillery, and entered upon the very heels of the Spaniards; a circumstance which so intimidated the garrison, who were drawn up in the great square in good order, that, after one general discharge, they threw down their arms, and made their escape through the lake.

The reduction of this place was of prodigious consequence; for they found in the arsenal three hundred pieces of brass cannon, and a great number of gallies in the port^m. Many of the general officers advised the emperor, therefore, to be content with his good fortune, and not push things farther, at least this campaign; an advice which extremely alarmed the poor king of Tunis, who was in

Defeats the Moorish army, and restores the old king of Tunis.

¹ Sandoval, Ochoa, Vera y Figueroa, Pauli Jovii Histor. Justiniani Adriani. ^m Pedro de Salazar, Alphonso Ulloa, Sandoval.

the camp with a very small body of cavalry, composed of such of his subjects as had followed his fortune : but the infant of Portugal and the duke of Alba insisted, that it was dishonourable for the emperor to retire without making himself master of Tunis, which was his own opinion likewise ; and therefore, as soon as the army had taken some repose, he advanced towards that city. Barbarossa, who had no inclination to be shut up, and who, besides, had an army much superior to that of the emperor, having secured the city, marched to meet and give him battle ; but his forces behaved so indifferently at the first attack, that he altered his sentiments, and resolved to retire again into the place, which, at his return, he found in a manner empty, the inhabitants of the city being fled to the mountains, and the Christian slaves having surpris'd the castle, so that he found it necessary to retire to Algiers ⁿ. The emperor, being thus master of Tunis, which he could not prevent the army from plundering, restored the king Muley Houssein, with whom he made a treaty, dated the 6th of August, by which he became his vassal, and made a cession of the fortrefs of Goletta. He returned thither ; and, having put into it a garrison of a thousand Spaniards, under the command of Don Bernardin de Mendoza, with a squadron of twelve galleys, under Antonio Doria, he dismissed the greatest part of his auxiliaries, and embarked for Sicily ^o. On the 12th of September he made his public entry into Palermo, where he held an assembly of the states, and received a free gift, and then proceeded to Naples, where he was received with all possible magnificence. There he had the news of the death of the duke of Milan, who had left him his heir ; and learned that Antonio de Leyva, with the Spanish troops under his command, had taken possession of that duchy on his behalf. To moderate, however, this good news, he received an unexpected piece of intelligence, that Barbarossa had attacked Minorca, and, having granted a fair capitulation to the city of Mahon, had broke it, massacred a great part of the inhabitants, and made slaves of above eight hundred persons, most of whom he carried to Algiers ; which outrage first excited a resolution in the emperor of attacking and making himself master of that place, as the sole means of abasing the naval power of the infidels ^p ; an enterprize, which it had been happy for Christendom he had exe-

A.D. 1535.

ⁿ Pauli Jovii Histor. Ferreras,

^o Ochoa,

^p Ibid. Vera y

Figueras,

cuted with as much success as he employed skill in the contrivance.

The death of the duke of Milan induced the French king to revive his pretensions to the duchy of Milan, though even before that event happened he had made an irruption into Savoy; but knowing that the issue of war is always doubtful, was content to propose an accommodation. The emperor, who had just seen his natural daughter Margaret married to the duke of Tuscany, and found his affairs in Italy in the most flourishing condition, was not very ready to part with so noble a possession as the duchy of Milan, more especially as the Venetians, the most prudent and the most powerful of the Italian republics, offered to enter into an alliance with him for its preservation. However, it is pretended, that he proposed to give the investiture of Milan to the third son of the French king, but this after his father should have discovered his intention as to these three points: first, Whether he meant to make a league with the Turks; whether he would concur in reducing the Protestants in Germany; and lastly, what security he would give that the duchy of Milan should never be annexed to the crown of France. But, whatever propositions he made, it is certain that he took all possible precautions for making war with success; and, having issued his orders for that purpose, went to Rome, into which he made his public entry on the 5th of April. Not content with the interviews he had with the pope, he caused a solemn assembly to be held at the Vatican, where all the foreign ministers, and other persons of distinction in the city, were present, as well as the pope, in which he made a long and eloquent speech in support of his own cause, against the monarch of France.

After he quitted that city, he went to put himself at the head of his army, in order to execute the design he had formed of entering France, contrary, as is affirmed, to the sentiments of his greatest generals. He arrived at Nice on the 25th of July, and passed from thence to Aix, where he remained near a month. He undertook the siege of Marseilles, on the 25th of August, but did not find the reduction of that place so easy as he expected. At the same time Andrew Doria was upon the coast of Provence with a small fleet; and count Henry of Nassau had entered Picardy, from Flanders, with an army of twenty-six thousand men; yet, notwithstanding all these enterprizes

The war breaks out again with Francis I. with more fury than ever.

The emperor invades France, besieges Marseilles, and is obliged to raise it.

Mezeray, Pauli Jovii Histor. Sandoval, P. Daniel.

Rainald, Dupleix.

A.D. 1536.

were well contrived, and executed by the best troops in Europe, they failed; for the army before Marseilles, being but indifferently supplied with provisions, had recourse to grapes and figs; and these fruits not agreeing with their constitutions, an epidemic distemper broke out, that carried off twenty thousand men, and, amongst them, Antonio de Leyva, and other old generals^t. In the mean time the French army grew every day more numerous, so that on the 10th of September the emperor raised the siege, and began his retreat two days after count Nassau had taken the same step in Picardy, and for the same reason^v. The troops on board the fleet made some descents, and burnt and plundered the country, but were constrained to retire with loss, and, the weather becoming tempestuous, were forced to return. As for the emperor, he made a good retreat. Having quitted his army in Piedmont, he went to Genoa, where he found the fleet of Andrew Doria, on board which he embarked, and arriving safely at Barcelona on the 6th of December, proceeded from thence to Castile, where his presence was very necessary.

His dominions attacked by the French on one side, and the Turks on the other.

In the space of a few months the emperor found his affairs extremely embarrassed. The French, in their turn, began to act offensively in Flanders and in Italy, while the Turks, apparently in concert with them, made prodigious preparations for attacking the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. Charles gave orders on every side, and employed all his talents to make head against his enemies. Amongst those great qualities of which he was master, his eloquence was not the least useful, or the least considerable; and if the French drew any advantage from their alliance with the infidels, it may be doubted whether it balanced what accrued to the emperor from publishing it in the strongest manner throughout all Christendom. It was by the help of this chiefly, that, in the states of Castile, held at Valladolid, he obtained a vast subsidy. Under pretence of providing for the defence of the coasts against the Turks, he caused an exact account to be taken, in Catalonia and Valentia, of the number of men capable to carry arms^w. In the month of July, he held at Moncon the states of Arragon, and of the provinces annexed to it, where he likewise obtained a great supply, part of which he employed in fortifying the frontiers against the French in the summer.

^t Ochoa, Alphonso Ulloa, Ferreras.
y Figueroa, Mariana.
Ferreras.

^v Mezeray, Vera
^w Ochoa, Mayerne Turquet,

The Turkish fleet, in the absence of Andrew Doria, came, under the command of Lufti Bey, on the coast of Naples, and took several places, which they burnt and pillaged; but Andrew Doria, in his return, took near twenty galleys, and made slaves of the janissaries on board them^x. However, having intelligence that Chairuddin basha, whom the Turks styled Barbarossa, was coming down upon him with the whole Ottoman fleet, he retired to Messina. In the spring, and part of the summer, the war continued against the French in Flanders and in Piedmont with some advantage to the imperialists; but queen Leonora on one side, and the queen-dowager of Hungary on the other, pressed the two monarchs so earnestly, that a truce was concluded and signed for three months by the two queens at Bomby, on the 30th of July^y. The pope and the Venetians procured also a truce for the like space on the side of Italy; of which when the Turkish emperor was informed, he abandoned his design against Naples, and resolved to revenge himself upon the Venetians. Towards the close of the year, Don Alvaro Bazan, general of the galleys of Spain, taking something amiss, resigned that employment; but the emperor sent him word, that he was not offended even with his resignation: that he had occasion for his service; and that he should keep his post, whether he served or not; and the empress sent a person of distinction, in her name, to prevail upon him to do as the emperor desired, which, under various pretences, he declined^z. The same year Alexander Medicis, duke of Florence, was murdered by his cousin Lawrence, upon which the emperor gave his dominions to Cosmo de Medicis, to whom he intended likewise to have given his daughter Margaret, the widow of the deceased^a.

A.D. 1537.

The pope, by his legates, prevailed on their Imperial and most Christian majesties to have an interview at Nice, and in the mean time concluded with the emperor and the Venetians a league against the Turks. His holiness setting out afterwards from Rome, he went to Savona by land, and embarking on board the emperor's galleys, arrived at Nice on the 17th of May, and the next day the emperor came thither from Barcelona^b. The French monarch, with his queen, his son the dauphin, and the constable Montmorency, arrived at Villafranca on the

His interview with the pope at Nice, and with the French king at Aigues-mortes, near Marseilles.

^x Pedro de Salazar, Sandoval. ^y P. Daniel, Mezeray, Vera y Figueroa. ^z Rainald, Adriani Justiniani. ^a Pauli Jovii Histor. ^b Sandoval, Alphonso Ulloa, Ferr.

21st^c. The pontiff conferred with both princes separately, but could not engage them to meet in his presence. After abundance of interviews, all he could accomplish was a truce for ten years, which was signed on the 18th of June; and a promise that they would send their plenipotentiaries to Rome to negotiate a solid peace. The pope, making use of the emperor's gallies, returned to Genoa, and from thence to Rome^d. His imperial majesty, during these conferences, saw his sister often; and being informed that the French monarch was very desirous of conferring with him alone, and would for that purpose wait for him at Aigues-mortes, he ordered Andrew Doria, when he arrived with his gallies, to steer directly for Marseilles. As soon as the fleet appeared in sight, the cannon of the citadel and town were immediately discharged, the magistrates came in a body to salute him on board his gallies, and, having kissed his hand, presented the keys of the town, with which compliment the emperor was extremely pleased^e. He arrived on Sunday the 14th of July at Aigues-mortes, where he was received by king Francis in person, who went on board his gally, and was treated with all imaginable kindness and respect. The emperor went on shore the next day, and staid till the 16th, and dined with the king, the queen, the dauphin, and the constable de Montmorency. The two monarchs had a private conference of about an hour, and parted with such exterior demonstrations of friendship, that all the world thought the peace concluded. The king afterwards conducted the emperor to his galley, and he was no sooner on board than he returned to Spain. These interviews detained Andrew Doria so long, that the Christian fleet was not at sea so early as it might have been. At length it assembled towards the end of August at Corfu, consisting of one hundred and thirty-six gallies, two galleons, and thirty-nine frigates, divided into five squadrons, commanded by Francis Doria, general Grimani, general Cappello, Andrew Doria, and Don Ferdinand Gonzaga, viceroy of Sicily. They went in search of the Turkish fleet under Chairuddin Barbarossa, found it in the Gulf of Galipoli, and might have fought, but that Andrew Doria declined it, a circumstance which brought some imputation on his character. Soon after the Turkish fleet

^c P. Daniel, Mezeray.

^e Vera y Figueroa, Mariana.

^d Rainald, Dupleix, Ochoa.

lost by a storm seventy galleys and twenty thousand men^f. The Venetian general, and Don Ferdinand de Gonzaga proposed going in pursuit of them; a motion which Andrew Doria refused, alleging, that they might meet with the like storm, and share the same fate with their enemies; upon which the fleet separated, and the squadrons retired to their respective ports^g. On the 1st of November the emperor held an assembly of the states of Castile and Leon at Toledo, where he endeavoured by all means to establish an excise, to which the clergy consented; but, by the persuasion of the constable of Castile, the nobility and commons opposed it so steadily, that the scheme miscarried^h.

The emperor kept the states sitting till the first of February, and then ordered the archbishop of Toledo to dismiss them, being exceedingly displeased that the proposition which he had made was rejected; and this, notwithstanding that, in their own way, they had granted a free gift of four hundred and fifty millions of marvadies; and gave it as their principal reason for not adopting the new scheme, that it might have provoked a rebellion in the raising, or have lost him the hearts of his subjects if raisedⁱ. This misfortune was followed by another; he gave a tournament on the plain of Toledo, where all things passed very well, but in the cavalcade, at their return to the city, one of the emperor's harbingers gave some coarse language to the duke de L'Infantado, and, not satisfied with that, struck his horse upon the buttock. The duke asked him very gravely, if he knew who he was; and, upon his answering in the affirmative, drew his sword, and cut him over the head, but hindered those who were about him from cutting him to pieces, as otherwise they certainly would have done. Upon this violence Rodrigo Ronquillo, provost of the household, would have arrested the duke in the emperor's name; but the constable interposed, and said, if the duke had committed an offence, the cognizance of it belonged to him, and thereupon conducted him to his own house, whither all the nobility followed him to a man, leaving nobody with the emperor but the archbishop of Toledo, to whom he was talking. This incident mortified him more than any thing that had happened in his life; and yet he was so prudent as to send to the duke the next morning, to let him know that the harbinger was committed to pri-

*Receives
many
causes of
mortification.*

^f Pauli Jovii Histor. Pedro de Salazar, Ferreras. ^g Sandoval.
^h Vera y Figueroa. ⁱ Alphonso Ulloa.

son, and that he might prosecute him if he pleased. The duke thanked his imperial majesty, caused the man to be cured at his own expence, and sent him a present of five hundred ducats ^k. This affair was immediately followed by another disagreeable event: the empress was delivered on the 1st of May of a dead child, and expired quickly after, leaving behind her Philip prince of Asturias, and two daughters, Donna Maria, who espoused the emperor Maximilian, and Donna Joanna, who, in process of time, became queen of Portugal ^l. The emperor shewed a real, but a silent sorrow. Pope Julius, old as he was, no sooner heard of this event, than, under pretence of condoling, he sent his nephew, cardinal Alexander Farnese, to propose a match between the duke of Orleans and one of the emperor's daughters, with whom he was to give the duchy of Milan as a portion; and another match between the emperor and a daughter of the French king; which negotiation had no effect ^m. The deputies from the city of Ghent in Flanders applied to the emperor, to obtain an exemption from a tax imposed by the queen dowager of Hungary, governess of the Low Countries, in violation, as they apprehended, of their privileges, but without receiving the redress which they expected; upon this the inhabitants revolted, expelled the queen's commissaries, and addressed themselves to the French king, as sovereign of Flanders, for protection. As this was a hasty step, it took the French king unprovided, who immediately sent their letters to the emperor, in hopes it would determine him to give the investiture of Milan to the duke of Orleans ⁿ. Charles considered this act of confidence in so strong a light, that he resolved to pass through France into Flanders, and sent Granvelle to demand a safe conduct from the French king, which he no sooner obtained than he set out with a small retinue for St. Sebastian, leaving cardinal Tavera and the commander Cobos regents ^o. He was received on the frontiers by the duke of Orleans, and at St. John de Luz by the dauphin. The French historians say, that those princes offered to go into Spain as hostages for his security; but the emperor answered very gravely, that he had the faith of a king, which he looked upon as a better security. He made them the companions of his journey ^p.

^k Ochoa, Alphonso Ulloa, Sandoval.

^l Vera y Figueroa, Goes, Olorio. ^m Rainald, P. Daniel, Mezeray.

ⁿ Duplex, Ferreras. ^o Mezeray, Ochoa, Vera y Figueroa.

^p P. Daniel, Mezeray, Duplex.

It was impossible for a prince to be treated with greater politeness than was shewn to the emperor through his whole journey; the magistrates in every city through which he passed, presented him the keys, and knelt and kissed his hand as if he had been their sovereign. The king and queen, though the former was indisposed, met him at Amboise, and conducted him to Paris, where he was complimented by the parliament, all prisoners were released, the city made him a present of a silver statue of Hercules as big as the life, and, in the space of a week he staid there, all the honours were paid him that ever had been practised, or could be invented^q. It is on all hands agreed, that the duchy of Milan was never so much as mentioned; but some writers assert, that the French king was advised to restrain him till he granted the investiture to his son; but that the constable Montmorency interposed, and put the king in mind of his word. It is also said, that the emperor was not without his suspicions; and that, knowing how great an influence the duchess of Estampes had over the king, he took occasion, as they were talking together by the fire side, to let fall a ring of great value from his finger; which she immediately took up, and presented to him. Upon this, the emperor said, smiling, "Madam, it is your's; emperors and kings take nothing which they have once let fall." But the duchess excusing herself, on account of the value of the jewel, the emperor replied, "Keep it, it will put you in mind of my journey through France." She obeyed, and it is hinted that the expedient had the proposed effect^r. At his departure from Paris, the king attended him to St. Quentin; but the dauphin and the duke of Orleans accompanied him to Valenciennes, where he made them rich presents^s. The people of Ghent sent four ambassadors to pacify him, whom the emperor treated with great severity. He obliged them to kneel while they were speaking, and dismissed them with this answer, "Tell your companions, that I shall come as their sovereign and their judge, with the sceptre and sword in my hands^t." On the arrival of his brother the king of the Romans with twelve thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, he, with the rest of his army, advanced towards Ghent, which he punished with great severity. He received not long after the cardinal of Lorraine and the constable of Montmorency as ambassadors

He passes through the city of Paris to reduce the city of Ghent.

A.D. 1540.

^q Alphonso Ulloa, Ferreras.
^y Figueroa, Ochoa, P. Daniel.

^r Thuan. Sandoval.
^t Sandoval, Ferreras.

^s Vera

from his most Christian majesty, to demand the investiture of the duchy of Milan for the duke of Orleans. The emperor told them with great frankness, that there were two reasons why he could not grant it; the first, that it would disoblige all the princes of Italy; the second, that it would cut off all communication between his dominions and the state of Genoa; but to shew how high a price he set on the friendship of his brother Francis, he was willing to give his daughter to the duke of Orleans, with the Low Countries, and the title of king. This answer being reported to the French king, he is said to have replied, that he did not desire other people's dominions, but sought only what belonged to him by descent^u. In the emperor's absence, Piali Hamet, one of Barbarossa's captains, landed with a strong detachment in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, surprised the place, and made the principal inhabitants prisoners, with whom, and the pillage of the city, he embarked; but being met by Don Bernardin Mendoza with fourteen gallies from Sicily, the corsairs were all either killed or taken, and the prisoners and booty recovered. There was this year so great a famine and pestilence in Spain, that it is thought the eleventh part of the people perished^w.

Resolves to put in execution the design he had formed against Algiers.

The emperor, who could never lose sight of a design that he had once formed, meditated, while in the Low Countries and in Germany, the conquest of Algiers, resolving to carry with him a body of German foot into Italy, sending orders at the same time to the viceroys of Naples and Sicily, and to Andrew Doria, to assemble their respective fleets, as well as to the regents in Spain for the same purpose, giving the command to the duke of Alba, with orders to provide every thing in abundance for an expedition of great importance, and to have all things ready against his return. He had the year before procured the pope's bulls for raising money upon the clergy, and resolved, in his passage through Italy, to meet and confer with him at Lucca, to which proposal his holiness, though sinking under the weight of years, readily consented, as having several things of moment to offer to his consideration, and more especially to labour the conclusion of a solid peace with the crown of France. The emperor entered Italy from Tirol in the decline of summer, and made some stay at Milan, where he married his niece, the daughter of the queen of Denmark, to the prince of Lor-

^u Alphonso Ulloa, Mezeray.

^w Pedro de Salazar.

rain; a measure which is generally ascribed to the pique he had taken at the French king's giving the daughter of Henry d'Albret, though a child, in marriage to the duke of Cleves, who laid claim to the duchy of Gueldres, and might, in consequence of this marriage, disturb the emperor about other pretensions. He proceeded from Milan to Genoa, and from thence to Lucca. There the French ambassadors made heavy complaints of the breach of the truce by the death of two gentlemen, who were assassinated by persons in masks not far from Milan, by order, as it was said, of the governor, who had intelligence that they were charged with a secret commission and instructions to negotiate with the grand signor. This outrage Francis the First magnified into a breach of faith, and an insult on the law of nations; while the emperor Charles treated it only as a pretence taken by the French to begin the war in concert with the Turks. While he remained at Lucca, he made three visits to the pope, who returned one. In these visits the emperor pressed the pope to call a general council, and to support the Catholic league; and the pope was very earnest with him to preserve the peace of Italy, by making a cession of the duchy of Milan, which he peremptorily refused. After this interview, the emperor, notwithstanding Andrew Doria and the marquis del Vasto laboured all they could to persuade him that the season was too far advanced, embarked, in order to execute his enterprize upon Algiers.

A.D. 1541.

The weather proved so bad, that he was forced to put into Corfica, Sardinia, and Minorca, before he reached Majorca, where the rendezvous was to be. He sailed from thence to the coast of Africa with a fleet of two hundred large ships and one hundred smaller vessels, besides a squadron of seventy gallies, having on board six thousand Spanish foot, five thousand Italians, eight thousand Germans, three thousand volunteers, and two thousand horse. He arrived in sight of Algiers on the 20th of October, and landed his troops the next day. The siege was long and perilous, the defence very gallant and well conducted: the Christian fleet was for the most part beaten to pieces by tempests, so that at length he was forced to rise from before the place with great loss. It is said, that after the retreat, the famous Hernando Cortes, who conquered Mexico, offered, on the forfeiture of his life, to return with the army, and take Algiers; but the contrary measure being resolved, his imperial majesty embarked, and landed in

Which, however, is attended with the most disastrous catastrophe.

in the kingdom of Murcia on the 5th of December, extremely mortified at this reverse of fortune ^x.

The dauphin lays siege to Perpignan with a numerous army, and is obliged to raise it.

The misfortunes of the former year constrained the emperor to act entirely upon the defensive. With this view he went in person into Arragon and Catalonia, and afterwards into Navarre, apprehensive that the French would attempt somewhat in favour of Henry of Bourbon, who had assumed the title of monarch of that country. It is certain that the French designed, in virtue of the potent alliances they had made, and their vast military preparations, to attack the emperor on all sides, and almost in every part of his dominions, at once, but they met likewise with disappointments; however, the war was carried on with heat in the Low Countries, though with very little advantage, the same places being taken and retaken in the space of a few weeks; so that, except rendering a fruitful country a desert, there happened little alteration on that side ^y. In Piedmont things went very much at the same rate. The duke of Savoy had the misfortune to see his country destroyed by two princes, one of whom was his near relation, and to the other he was closely allied, without having any share or interest in the quarrel ^z. In the autumn the dauphin, with an army of between forty and fifty thousand men, besieged Perpignan; but, after having spent a long time before it, and wasted a great many men, he was constrained to retire ^a. The emperor called the states of Arragon and Catalonia together at Moncon, where they took the oath of fidelity to the prince Don Philip, and granted the emperor a free gift of half a million of ducats ^b. He went from thence to Barcelona, where the prince swore to maintain the privileges and exemptions of that principality; and repaired afterwards with his father, for the same purpose, to Valentia, where the emperor obtained a large free gift, and the states likewise made a very generous present to the prince his son ^c.

Success of the Imperialists on all sides against the French and the Turks.

A defensive war, however successful, was by no means acceptable to the emperor, who therefore meditated all this time a war of another kind; previous to which he found it necessary to conclude the marriage of his son the prince Don Philip with the infanta Donna Maria of Por-

^x Pedro de Salazar, Sagredo, Cantemir. ^y P. Daniel, Mezeray, Sandoval. ^z Dupleix, Ochoa, Ferreras. ^a Alphonso Ulloa, Mariana. ^b Sandoval, Ferreras. ^c Vera y Figueroa, Ochoa, Mariana,

tugal; and a treaty with Henry the Eighth of England, which was signed in the month of February, at London^d. These points being settled, he thought of nothing but passing into Flanders, believing that on that side it was most practicable to distress France. He committed the regency, during his absence, to his son the prince of Asturias, and assigned him the duke of Alba to assist him in military affairs. He likewise put into his hands a paper, containing a succinct detail of what might happen in his absence, with his instructions upon every point. These necessary measures being taken, he embarked at Barcelona, on board the galleys of Andrew Doria, and arrived safely at Genoa. The pope was very desirous of a conference, and sent the cardinal nephew to request it, which the emperor would have declined, but finding himself so warmly pressed, he consented at length to an interview at Bossetto, a castle between Parma and Placentia; but, as it might have been easily foreseen, it had no effect, for the emperor was bent upon chastising the duke of Cleves, and making his rival Francis sensible of his superiority^e. While his imperial majesty was pursuing this plan, Chairuddin Barbarossa, with the Turkish fleet, having first ravaged Calabria, alarmed Sicily, and insulted Italy, proceeded to the coasts of France, and being joined by the naval force of that country, the French and Turkish fleets landed a numerous corps of troops, and, in conjunction with them, besieged the town and fortress of Nice. The former they took by composition; but the citadel continued to make a long and brave defence, till the marquis del Vasto approached with an army of twelve thousand men under his command; upon which the allies raised the siege, the French squadron retiring to Marseilles, and the Turks to Toulon^f. The emperor was still more successful where he commanded in person, since he compelled the duke of Cleves to have recourse to his clemency, and extended it to him in a high degree, after making him thoroughly sensible of his displeasure. He likewise promised the distressed king of Tunis, who apprehended the great armament Barbarossa then made was to dispossess him of his dominions, his support and protection, and in the mean time gave him leave to reside at Naples^g.

A.D. 1543.

^d Goes, Osorio, Faria y Sousa, Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII.

^e Rainald, Alphonso Ulloa.

^f Pedro de Salazar,

Sagredo, Cantemir.

^g Sandoval, Mariana, Ferreras.

*By his wife
conduct the
emperor
forces the
French to
conclude
the treaty
of Soissons.*

A D. 1544.

The fate of war is ever uncertain; but the issue of negotiations, wisely conducted, is rarely so. The French arms were successful in Piedmont^b; and the Imperialists, though commanded by the marquis del Vasto, the best officer they had left, we entirely defeated in the neighbourhood of Carignan, on the 10th of April, by which action that and some other places fell into their hands; but the marquis del Vasto repaired this loss by his extraordinary diligence, and by his fertility in expedients, which were the result of his great skill and experience in the art of warⁱ. In the month of May Barbarossa failed for Constantinople, and took the command of a fleet which had been for some time preparing there, with which he ravaged the coasts of the kingdom of Naples, and carried many thousand persons of both sexes into slavery. He meditated still greater mischiefs, which were prevented only by his death, that happened soon after by a flux, when he was upwards of eighty^k. A French fleet, that was sent to ravage the coasts of Galicia, was not so successful; for Don Alvaro Bazan, who had resumed the command of the Spanish gallies, engaged, and defeated them. The greatest efforts, however, in this campaign, were made on the side of the Low Countries and in France; for the emperor, having brought over king Henry of England with a numerous army, which was employed in besieging Boulogne, marched in person with a corps of thirty-six thousand men, and invested Montreuil, while the count de Furstenberg, with a body of German troops, recovered Luxemburgh. The emperor, clearly perceiving that his rival was unable to defend himself against two such powerful enemies at a time, pushed the operations of the war with such vigour, that, after taking Chateau Thierry, it was expected he would have marched to Paris; a supposition which threw the inhabitants of that great city into such consternation, that many of them retired to Rouen, Orleans, and other places^l. But the emperor, when he arrived at Soissons, made a halt, as if he expected some application should be made to him. Accordingly, father Martin de Guzman, who some say was confessor to the queen of France, and others affirm to have been following his studies there, went thither by

^b Mezeray.
Figueroa.
Sandoval.

ⁱ Alphonso Ulloa, Ochoa.
^l P. Daniel, Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII.

^k Vera y

direction of their most Christian majesties, and testified how much they were inclined to peace^m. Upon this intimation plenipotentiaries were sent to Chateau de Crespy on both sides, and the treaty was concluded on the 18th of September. It implied, that the emperor should give his daughter the infanta Donna Maria, to the duke of Orleans, with the Low Countries and the counties of Burgundy and Charolois; or his niece, the daughter of the king of the Romans, with the duchy of Milan; but he was to retain the citadels of Milan and Cremona till there should be an heir male of the marriage; and all places taken since the truce of Nice were to be restored; the French king renewing the renunciations made by the treaties of Madrid and Cambrayⁿ. The loss of Boulogne to the English hastened this treaty very much. After it was concluded, the emperor went himself to Crespy, where the duke of Orleans met him, and was treated with great kindness and affection.

The peace being made, both princes concurred in obliging pope Paul the Third to summon the council of Trent, which he did by a bull dated in November, and appointed it to meet on the 15th of March^o. The emperor passing the winter at Brussels, the queen of France went thither, and carried the duke of Orleans with her; and the cheerfulness of the court was not a little increased by the news of the princess of Asturias being delivered on the 8th of January at Valladolid, of her son Don Carlos; but that satisfaction was extremely lessened by the news of the death of his mother, which immediately followed^p. The great affairs of the empire, more especially those of religion, occupied all the summer. About the time that it was expected the emperor would have declared the marriage of the infanta Donna Maria, the duke of Orleans died on the 8th of September, much regretted by Charles, who apprehended that the war would break out afresh; but the French king soon after sent ambassadors to Brussels, with assurances that he meant to maintain that good correspondence which was so lately restored. The emperor answered, that the peace would not be broken on his side. The next year was entirely spent in the wars in Germany against the Protestants, and in establishing the inquisition of Naples, which was attended with a popular

The birth of the prince Don Carlos.

A.D 1545.

A.D. 1546.

^m Dupleix, Alphonso Ulloa, Ferreras.
Ochoa, Vera y Figueroa.
Daniel, Ferreras.

ⁿ Mezeray,
^p Ochoa, P.

sedition ^q, and, in consequence of that, a general defection, which lasted, to the incredible loss of that kingdom, several years.

*He makes a
rou into
the empire,
and carries
all things
there with
a high
hand.*

In the beginning of the succeeding year died Henry the Eighth of England, and his most Christian majesty Francis the First, events which left the emperor at full liberty to pursue his designs in Germany; where he carried on the war against the Protestants with his usual vigour, but with a strain of severity that was not natural to him, and which we have reason to doubt proceeded rather from political views than from a mistaken zeal ^r. An attempt was made at Genoa upon the life of prince Doria, by the count de Fiesque, in which the duke of Parma had some concern; and it was not long after retaliated by his assassination; upon which Don Ferdinand Gonçaga seized the city of Placentia for the emperor; a measure which drew some suspicions upon him, and even upon his master ^s. The prince Don Philip held a general assembly of the states of Arragon, and obtained a considerable free gift; and afterwards sent his favourite Ruy Gomez de Silva, to compliment his father at Augsburgh upon his victories, and to acquaint him with the state of affairs in Spain ^t.

A.D. 1547.

Don Philip's triumphant journey to visit the emperor in the Low Countries.

His Imperial majesty was every day more and more embarrassed by the religious disputes in the empire, where his notions and his measures were unacceptable to, and suspected by both parties, more especially that great measure of the interim, which was properly speaking his own, and to which he was driven by the pope's transferring the council from Trent to Bologna; against which removal the emperor protested, but to no purpose ^u. This embarrassed state of things making his presence absolutely necessary, and as his great point was to preserve all his dignities, as well as to transmit all his dominions to the prince his son, he judged it necessary to have him near his person. Having prevailed upon his brother, the king of the Romans, to let his son prince Maximilian go into Spain, he sent him through the Milanese to Genoa, from whence, on board Doria's galleys, he passed to Barcelona, where he arrived on the 5th of August, and, on his arrival at Valladolid, espoused, in virtue of a dispensation from the pope, the infanta Donna Maria, the emperor's daughter, who had been promised to the duke of Orleans ^w. As soon as the

^q Sandoval, Vera y Figueroa, Mezeray.

^r Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII.

^s Alph. Ulloa.

^t Sandoval, & al. supra citat.

^u Rainald, Ochoa, Vera y Figueroa.

^w Sandoval, Ferreras.

^r Lord Her-

^s San-

^t San-

rejoicings for this marriage were over, that is, in the beginning of October, the prince Don Philip devolved the administration upon his cousin Maximilian, and set out for Barcelona, with a train so numerous and so splendid, that the Spanish writers assure us nothing like it was ever seen before ^x. The first actions of princes are characteristic; and the same dignity, circumspection, magnificence, regularity, and œconomy, which appeared in this voyage, were discernible in all the great actions of Philip's life. He embarked at Roses in Catalonia, went from thence to Perpignan, and, after having seen and examined it, returned to his fleet, touched twice upon the coast of France, proceeded from thence to Villa Franca, and landed at Savona, from whence he went to Genoa in one of the gallees of the republic ^y. He was received there, as he had been every where, with all possible honours and respect, and gave the Italian princes and states leisure to make their addresses to him. He took a view of the field of battle of Pavia, as his father had done, and, proceeding from thence to Milan, passed his Christmas in that city, and conferred with all the great men in Italy on points of every kind, with a modesty and affability which were not afterwards so conspicuous in his conduct.

A.D 1548.

In the beginning of the year prince Philip set out from Milan, and, taking Mantua in his way, arrived at Trent, from whence he went to Inspruck, thence to Saltzburg and Munich, and so to Augsburgh, receiving all the princes ecclesiastic and secular of the empire, and from thence to Luxemburg, from whence by slow journies he repaired to Brussels, where, when he was introduced to his father's presence, he fell at his feet, and kissed his hand. The emperor received him with great affection, and caused the states of the Low Countries to acknowledge him in quality of duke of Brabant ^z. About this time died Paul the Third, of whom the emperor is reported to have said to his son, that if his body was opened, in order to be embalmed, they would find a fleur-de-lis stamped upon his heart ^a.

His great humility, when introduced into his father's presence.

A.D. 1549.

The cardinal de Monte being raised to the papal throne, assumed the name of Julius III. and gave immediate notice of it to the emperor and to the prince. Though at first they were well pleased with his election, yet they did not find him afterwards so favourable as they expected;

A.D. 1550.

The emperor begins to find a decline of fortune when he least expected it.

^x Mariana. ^y Mezeray. ^z Ochoa, Vera y Figueroa, Sandoval. ^a Rainald.

and both the emperor's great projects of subduing the protestants, and procuring for his son the reversion of the empire, miscarried, though they were conducted with all possible address ^b.

Embarrassed by the fresh conjunction between the infidels and the French.

As the emperor was firm, or rather positive, in the measures he formed, so, having taken fresh steps for carrying them into execution, he hoped they would have better success this year; and therefore, finding that the presence of Philip made no impression on a German diet, he conceived it more for his interest to return to Spain, more especially as clouds began to gather in several quarters. Henry II. inherited his father's resentments as well as his dominions; he procured an entrance into Italy, by taking the young duke of Parma, O&stasio Farnese, under his protection; he entered into a secret confederacy with the protestant princes of the empire, much oppressed by the emperor, who meant to oppress them more; and, as if he acted in concert, the grand signior equipped a great fleet, and threatened all the emperor's hereditary dominions ^c. Don Philip, in the spring, returned to Genoa; from whence he passed to Barcelona; and Andrew Doria sailed with his fleet, to watch the motions of the Barbary corsairs ^d. However, Sinan basha, with a Turkish fleet, made a descent upon Sicily, attacked Malta, ravaged the isle of Gofa, and took the city of Tripoli from the knights of that order ^e. In the autumn, prince Doria returned to Barcelona, where he took on board the prince Maximilian, and his consort the infanta Donna Maria, whom he landed at Genoa, from whence they continued their journey by land to Flanders. Before the close of the year the war was become general; and though at first the pope took part with the emperor in Italy, yet he quickly made peace with the king of France, who, furnishing the German princes with money, rekindled the flame of war in the empire, and, seizing the Flemish vessels that fell into his power, left the emperor no room to doubt that he would find himself attacked on all sides. Though he was now grown in years, and found the weight of them doubled by his infirmities, he acted with great constancy and vigour, and formed new projects for extricating himself out of those new difficulties, with which he found himself more pressed than he had hitherto been during the whole course of his reign ^f.

A.D. 1557.

^b Ferreras. ^c Mezeray, Cantemir, Vera y Figueroa. ^d Sagredo, Sandoval, Ferreras. ^e Pedro de Salazar, Ochoa. ^f P. Daniel, Rainald.

At the opening of the ensuing year, the emperor met with the greatest and most unexpected reverse of fortune that befel him in his whole reign; for prince Maurice of Saxony, who owed his electorate to his favour, having, in conjunction with other protestant princes, assembled a good army, suddenly possessed themselves of Augsburgh, and other places, reduced Clausen, which was thought impregnable, and marched with such diligence to seize Inspruck, where the emperor then was, that, if he had not withdrawn in the night, leaving behind him the best part of his wardrobe and baggage, they would have made themselves masters of his person ^a. He retired into Carinthia, where he received deputies from the republic of Venice, who with great respect offered him all the service in their power. As the state was then arming with great vivacity, the emperor, who began to be jealous of every body, demanded the reason of this armament from the senate; who informed him, it was their custom to put their dominions in a posture of defence when armies were near them, though they had no share in the quarrel; but that his imperial majesty need be in no pain on that head, since the troops they had, and the troops they were raising, were entirely at his devotion, and he might employ them as he thought proper. This well-timed compliment had a good effect, and recovered his spirits; and when he saw that the old elector John Frederic of Saxony, whom in this confusion he released from a long imprisonment, refused to quit his person, and gave the highest marks of unshaken fidelity, he laboured to restore his affairs, and consented to the pacification of Passau, which afforded him time to take his measures ^b. He sent immediately to his son prince Philip for men and money, and dispatched Andrew Doria with his gallies to bring both. The prince Don Philip executed his father's orders with such diligence, that the supplies were ready when the gallies arrived, so that the emperor was quickly in a condition to protect his Italian dominions ^c. However, the prince of Salerno, to revenge himself for some real or pretended affront that he had received from Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroy of Naples, went over to the French, and, besides receiving a large pension, was declared general of the gallies which were to be sent into the Mediterranean ^d. The Turks had sent Dragut, with a very powerful fleet, to act

Compelled to make his escape from Inspruck in the night.

^a Alphonso Ulloa. ^b Justiniani Sandoval, Ochoa, Alphonso Ulloa. ^c Adriani, Ferreras. ^d P. Daniel, Mezeray.

A.D. 1552.

*An accident
saves the
kingdom of
Naples from
being over-
run by the
Turks.*

against the emperor, and he sacked many places in the island of Sicily. From the middle of July to the beginning of August he appeared daily before Naples, a circumstance which threw that city into vast confusion, till at length Andrew Doria arrived with the Christian fleet, and, to put an end to these terrors, engaged the infidels: but, for the first time, he was completely defeated, with the loss of six gallies and seven hundred Germans, with several officers of distinction on board; upon which, with the shattered remains of his fleet, he retired to Sardinia^l.

The consequences of this misfortune might have been terrible, if, by an unforeseen accident, they had not been prevented. Charles Mermila, a Neapolitan exile, who had fled for shelter into France, was intrusted by king Henry with an important message to Dragut. This man, coming to Rome, discovered himself to cardinal Mendoza, to whom he offered, if the emperor would pardon him, and furnish him with a large sum of money, to deliver his country from the impending danger. The bargain was quickly made; and Mermila, going very secretly to Dragut, instead of informing him, as he was commanded, that the French gallies were coming to join him, assured him, in the name of king Henry, that he was unable to act in concert with him that year, but had sent him two hundred thousand ducats towards the expences of the next; which information Dragut believing, returned immediately towards Constantinople^m. A few days after arrived the prince of Salerno with the French fleet, who, finding that the infidels had retired, followed, in order to bring them back, which design carried him likewise to Constantinople, so that the emperor's dominions on this side were free for that year. The emperor, in the mean while, having drawn together a potent army, marched to Inspruck, and from thence to Germany, directing his march towards the Low Countries. The design of this expedition was to recover Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which the French king had surprised during the troubles; but, not arriving till it was late in the year, his design in a great measure miscarried; which miscarriage, with the insurrection of the city of Sienna in Italy, in favour of the French, renewed his chagrin, and induced him to question that good fortune upon which he had formerly so much relied. The prince Don Philip procured from the states of the

^l Pedro de Salazar, Sagredo, Cantemir.
^m Pedro de Salazar, Ferreras.

ⁿ Sandoval,

respective

respective kingdoms in Spain very large supplies; and, having received his father's consent, concluded the marriage of his sister the infanta Donna Joanna, with the prince of Portugal ⁿ.

In Italy the Imperialists bent their whole force to the reduction of Sienna; but the subjects of that little republic, being most of them rich, enlisted so many foreigners in their service, and exerted themselves with such spirit and intrepidity, that, though much blood was spilt, there was not much gained°. In the mean time Dragut and the prince of Salerno arrived on the coast of Sicily with a numerous fleet, where they burnt and destroyed some places on the coast, carrying many of the inhabitants into slavery. Their fortune was different when they came to attack Naples; for the viceroy Don Pedro de Toledo, having had time to prepare for their reception, posted several corps of troops so judiciously along the coasts, that, in several descents they made, they were constrained to retire with loss. At length, by the persuasion of the prince of Salerno, they attacked the island of Corsica, and reduced it, except Calvi and Bastia, in which the Genoese had strong garrisons: the Turks, leaving this in the hands of their allies, returned with their vessels loaded with plunder, and crouded with slaves, to Constantinople. In the Low Countries the emperor carried on the war with vigour, and with success, as long as the season would permit^p. In the winter he formed the project of marrying his son to queen Mary of England. He sent ambassadors to propose her marriage with his son, and at the same time applied to the pope to use his influence in promoting this scheme, as the only effectual means for enabling Mary to execute her design of re-establishing popery in England^q.

At the opening of the year died Don Juan prince of Portugal; and in a few days after his decease, the infanta Donna Joanna was delivered of a son, who received the name of Sebastian on account of his being born upon the feast of that saint. The treaty of marriage between the prince of Spain and the queen of England being concluded, he received the emperor's orders to prepare for his voyage for that kingdom, and to leave the administration of affairs in Spain to the princess dowager of Portugal, who, having obtained leave from her father-in-law, wil-

The war between the Imperialists and French-

A.D. 1553.

The prince Don Philip espouses Mary queen of England, and is declared king of Naples.

ⁿ Ochoa, Vera y Figueroa, Goes.

Ulloa, Ferreras.

^p Cantemir, Sagredo, Sandoval.

^q Rainald, Godwin's Life of Queen Mary.

^o Adriani, Alphonso

lingly accepted the charge. The prince, before he embarked, settled the household of his son Don Carlos, and went to pay his devotions at the shrine of St. James of Campostella^r. He sailed from Corunna with a very numerous fleet, attended by the principal nobility of Castile and Arragon, and arrived at Southampton on the 19th^s, or, as some writers say, on the 20th of July. He sent from thence his favourite Ruy Gomez de Silva, with a present of jewels to the queen, of the value of one hundred thousand ducats. The marriage was celebrated on the feast of St. James, and, when their titles were proclaimed, those of Naples and Sicily were added in virtue of the emperor's resignation, which had been sent a little before^t. After the rejoicings for the marriage were over, most of the Spanish nobility returned; and the prince sent four thousand Spanish troops, that were on board his fleet, to his father in France^u. In Italy the war was carried on with vigour by the duke of Florence or of Tuscany, against the French; but in the Low Countries the French king took several places, and wasted the country, notwithstanding the emperor had built two new fortresses, which he styled Charleroi and Philipville; but the emperor, towards the close of the campaign, forced the king to raise the siege of Renty, and afterwards made an irruption into Picardy^w.

Charles takes a resolution of quitting the world, and resigns to his son.

The vast extent of his dominions, and the multiplicity of affairs which occupied his attention, joined to a precarious state of health, had for some time rendered the emperor thoughtful and reserved. His melancholy was much increased by the news of his mother's death, which happened on the 12th of April, and which put him in mind that it was time for him to execute what he had formerly meditated, and even proposed to the queens of Hungary and France, which was an abdication and retreat. The mortification that he daily met with contributed not a little to fix him in this disposition; the death of pope Julius the Third, and of his successor Marcellus the Second, who sat but three weeks, and the election of cardinal Caraffa, who assumed the name of Paul the Fourth, afforded him much disquiet. He laboured to live at least upon good terms with the last mentioned pontiff; and, sacrificing his resentment against his nephew, who had deserted his ser-

^r Sandoval, Ferreras. ^s Vera y Figueroa. ^t Rapin's Hist. of England. ^u Godwin's Annals. ^w Justiniani Adriani, Mezeray, P. Daniel.

vice for that of the king of France, he did him the honour to nominate him to a hat, which he received with great expressions of gratitude, as his uncle bestowed it with all the exterior signs of pleasure ^x; but in a short time, this cardinal persuaded the pope, who was very old and suspicious, that the emperor designed to depose him; upon which, in violation of the law of nations, he seized the cardinal Sforza, the emperor's ambassador, and sent him to the castle of St. Angelo ^y. The civil and military affairs in his Italian dominions fell into such confusion, that he was compelled in conjunction with his son, to name the duke of Alba vicar-general there, that he might reduce them into some order ^z. The Turkish fleet, at the solicitation of the French, came again upon the coasts of Naples and Sicily, insulted Tuscany, and rode triumphant in the Mediterranean; while the Algerine corsairs made themselves masters of Bugia on the coast of Africa ^a. The congress that had been held at Calais, at the solicitation of his daughter the queen of England, proved abortive ^b: upon the whole, considering the perplexed state of things, and his own declining condition, he sent for his son Don Philip into Flanders, and, having first resigned to him the grand-mastership of the order of the Golden Fleece, he, on the 25th of October, in a full assembly of the states at Brussels, in the presence of the two queens his sisters, and of the duke of Savoy, made a full resignation of all the hereditary dominions of the Low Countries, and of Burgundy, in favour of the king Don Philip ^c; after having, in a long speech, declared the motives to this resolution, and recommended in the most pathetic terms the same fidelity and duty to his son which himself had experienced in the great officers of state and nobility who were present; and this with such dignity, and eloquence, that the whole audience melted into tears. Don Philip, kneeling, kissed his hand, and made a short speech, after which, the emperor, being quite exhausted with the fatigue of the solemnity, withdrew ^d. After this resignation, king Philip, being persuaded that the most Christian king had sincere intentions of peace, consented to name commissioners to treat of a temporary truce, that might afford them leisure to regulate the various points that were to be

A.D. 1555.

^x Sandoval, Rainald.
Adriani. Ochoa, Vera y Figueroa.
Daniel.
Diplomatique, tom. iv. lib. iii. p. 93.

^y Ferreras.

^b Godwin's Annals.

^z Justiniani

^a Cantemir, P.

^c Corps Univers.

^d Alphonso Ulloa.

settled by it ; and with this prospect of tranquillity, which was very acceptable to all parties, this year concluded.

*Disposes
every thing
for his
voyage
into Spain,
and em-
barks for
Zealand.*

As soon as the emperor's resignation was known in Spain, measures were taken for proclaiming the new sovereign with all possible ceremony, that, as this was in all respects a new case, the people might entertain no doubts or difficulties about it. Accordingly, at Valladolid, where the court then was, a kind of theatre was erected in the most public part of the city on the 28th of March, about five in the afternoon, to which the prince Don Carlos, the ambassador of Portugal, the principal grandees, and the prelates, repaired ; and the voluntary resignation of his catholic majesty Charles the First being declared, the young prince, with the assistance of Antonio de Roxas, his governor, threw out the standard which he held till then wrapped up in his hand, crying out, " Castile, Castile, for the king Don Philip our sovereign ;" which standard was afterwards carried through the principal streets of the city. The emperor remained, after his abdication, some months at Brussels ; and, upon declaring his resolution to return into Spain, and there to pass the remainder of his days, the archduke Maximilian and the infanta Donna Maria went thither to take their leave of him. After their departure, the emperor took leave of his son, and is said to have given him such observations upon government as his great abilities and long experience furnished. When he was informed that the fleet which was to escort him was assembled, he set out from Brussels for Ghent. From thence he repaired to Sudbourg, in the isle of Zealand, where, by a public edict, directed to the electors, and other princes of the empire, he committed the government of the empire to his brother Ferdinand ; and directed that the same duty and obedience should be paid to him as to himself ; so that, notwithstanding what some historians have said, these are neither of them resignations. This last is dated on the 7th of September, and ten days after he embarked with his sisters, the queens of Hungary and France, for Spain ; but was driven in his passage into an English port, from whence, on the 20th of the same month, he wrote to his daughter the queen of England, to excuse his son's stay, and his not making her a visit, an omission which he ascribes to the bad state of his health, and to the advanced season of the year, which made it requisite for him to lose no time in pursuing his voyage ; and it is probable he sailed again either on that day or the day following.

He

He arrived safely at Laredo in Biscay on the 28th of the same month; and, after remaining there some days to recover the fatigue of the voyage, he set out for Burgos. There are some who pretend that he was mortified when he perceived that few of the nobility came to meet him, a notion which, as it must be a conjecture, so, if we consider the character of this prince, we can scarce think it probable: he had, upon mature reflection, preferred retirement at his age to the highest dignities; and this opinion supposes that in a very short time he preferred a croud of courtiers, at least, if not flatterers, to that retirement he had sought. He went from thence to Valladolid, where he saw his grandson Don Carlos; and from Valladolid, accompanied by the two queens his sisters, he set out upon a rainy day for the place he had chosen for his retreat. This was the monastery of St. Justus, belonging to the order of Hieronymites, next in authority to the Carthusians, seated in the Vera de Placentia, which all who have seen it describe as one of the sweetest and pleasantest places in Europe. He resided in a little house built near the convent, employed himself in acts of piety and devotion, and practised for his amusement some of the mechanic arts*. It is certain that king Philip consulted him in the beginning of the ensuing year, by his favourite Ruy Gomez de Silva, upon the most proper methods of raising men and money in Spain, and upon the expediency of the prince Don Carlos passing into Flanders: as to the first part of his commission, he gave him the best counsel in his power, and disapproved of the last†. He did not actually resign the empire till the beginning of the year 1558, when the ensigns of the Imperial dignity were sent to the diet by the prince of Orange, the vice-chancellor of the empire, and his secretary‡. He was so desirous of fulfilling, in the most exact manner, the duties of that station which was the result of his own choice, that he would not permit the two queens to reside at Placentia as they would have done, that his meditations might be the less disturbed. In this state he was found, but not surprised, by that death he had long expected, and to which he submitted with all exterior marks of humility, piety, and patience, on the 21st of September the same year, in the fifty-ninth

Retires to the convent of St. Justus in Estramadura, and remains to his decease.

* Sandoval, Alphonso Ulloa, Ferreras.
roa, Luis Cabrera.

† Vera y Figueroa, Rainald.

year of his age ^h. Donna Leonora, queen dowager of Portugal and France, upon her return into Castile from a visit she had made her daughter in the first mentioned kingdom, died, after a short illness, a few months before him ⁱ; Donna Maria, queen-dowager of Hungary, deceased within the compass of the same month ^k; and his daughter-in-law, queen Mary of England, within the space of two months.

*Account of
his legiti-
mate and
illegitimate
offspring,
and other
particu-
lars.*

This great prince, by his empress Donna Isabella of Portugal, had many sons, none of which survived beyond the age of infancy, except his successor Don Philip, and two daughters, the infanta Donna Maria, who espoused the archduke Maximilian, son to Ferdinand king of the Romans, and who was himself afterwards emperor, and the infanta Donna Joanna, princess of Portugal. As to his natural children, there are many doubts and disputes: he had by a Dutch lady a daughter Margaret, first married to Cosmo de Medicis, duke of Florence, and, after his demise, to Octavio Farnese, duke of Parma, by whom she was the mother of Alexander Farnese, one of the greatest captains of his age. By another lady he had a son, who was the famous Don Juan of Austria, who was bred up by the emperor's faithful servant Lewis Quixada, without knowing who was his father, and who considered Margaret Ulloa, the wife of Quixada, as his mother ^l. At his departure from Brussels, it is said the emperor acquainted Don Philip that he had a brother, and where he was. Upon this discovery Don Juan discerned, that the wife of Quixada was not his mother. He was afterwards told that a German lady of Ratisbon, Barbara de Blomberg was his mother, and he thought her so to his death ^m. But some modern writers, upon the credit of the jesuit Strada, have surmised, that his birth was not less illustrious on the side of his mother than his father, which opinion, however favoured by great writers, is liable to many difficulties ⁿ. Those who say that the emperor had another natural son, whose name was Priam Conrad, are mistaken; he was the son of Barbara Blomberg by her husband, and therefore Don Juan considered him as his half-brother ^o. Some mention another Don

^h Mayerne, Turquet, Mariana.

ⁱ Osorio, Faria y Soufa.

^k Bayle.

^l Bayle. Sandoval, Ferreras.

^m Luis Ca-

brera, Mayerne, Turquet.

ⁿ See the article of Don Juan of

Austria in Bayle.

^o See the article of Barbara Blomberg in

Bayle.

Juan, who died at seven years of age ; but whether this be true or not is scarce worth enquiry.

With regard to the character of this great prince, the reader will collect it from the facts that have been related. His own historians lift him too high ; other writers have visibly laboured to diminish his reputation, and laboured to little purpose ^p. There are few monarchs of whom more falsties have been related, and this from his first entrance on the government to his resigning it, which many would make us believe was with a view to the papacy, a thing highly improbable, and absolutely inconsistent with other reports of his dying in protestant sentiments ; which is not altogether unlikely, since the emperor was serious in his religious notions, and had conversed with divines who had embraced the Christian faith as set forth in the Scriptures, and who suffered for that faith ^q. It is also said, that he repented of his resignation, as we have hinted already ; but as there is no act of his mentioned to prove it, it is far from deserving credit ^r. We have now conducted him from his retreat to his tomb, and shall therefore proceed to the reign of his son Don Philip ; having taken this method to render his history clear and unconnected in all its particulars, and to avoid breaking the thread of the ensuing narrative, by interspersing facts that would have been far less intelligible in that way than when the reader sees them altogether.

Reasons for preserving the history entire, and not inter-mixing it with his son's.

^p Varillas, Mezeray.

^q Brantome Capit. Etrangers, tom.

i. p. 36. Thuanus Aubigne.

^r See the Preface to the French

Translation of the ninth volume of Ferreras.

S E C T. XV.

The History of the Reign of Don Philip II.

*The first
act of Phi-
lip's admi-
nistration,
the peace
or truce
with
France.*

THE first step taken by Don Philip after his accession to the dominions of Spain, by the resignation of his father, was an effort to satisfy the queen of England, his consort, and his subjects in general, by concluding a peace, and, when this was found impracticable, a truce, with the crown of France for five years, which was published at Cambray on the 4th of February, between the emperor and the two kings of France and Spain; the news of which were very acceptable every-where, except at Rome^a. Paul IV. persisted in his aversion to the house of Austria; and, to gratify his resentment, shewed very little care either for what he did, or for what was said of his actions. His scheme was to deprive king Philip of the kingdom of Naples, to give it to a French prince, and, by the assistance of that crown, to make such other regulations in Italy, as might gratify his own inclinations, and the ambition of his family^b. This truce, therefore, was very unwelcome to him, who was already in arms, and left the dominions of the church in a manner at the mercy of the duke of Alba, whom he endeavoured to amuse with propositions and treaties, but who was, of all men living, the least to be imposed upon by such artifices. In Spain, the nobility and people were inclined to carry on the war in Africa against the Moors, who, after having taken from them Bugia, were disposed to strip them of the rest of their conquests; and it was to prevent this disaster, that the Spaniards were for engaging in an offensive war, which Philip prevented, by sending them positive orders not to proceed therein till his arrival, which they very punctually obeyed^c.

*Pope Paul
IV. engages
the French
to violate
that truce
by fallaci-
ous pro-
mises.*

The pope, having sent his nephew cardinal Caraffa into France, engaged Henry the Second to conclude a secret league against the Austrians, in which the Turk was to have a share, though that part of the scheme failed^d. The duke of Guise, however, was sent with a potent

^a Luis Cabrera Historia del Rey de Hispana, Don Phelippe II. fol. 1616.

^b Rainald, Ferreras.

^c Camp. Herrera, Luys de Marmol Description gen. de Africa, fol. 1599-Salazar.

^d Rainald, P. Daniel, Ferreras.

army to protect the city of Rome from being sacked by the duke of Alba, as it had been by the duke of Bourbon; and, about the same time, the truce was violated by the admiral Coligny's attempting to surprise Doway, in which he failed*. Upon these proceedings, king Philip found himself under a necessity of renewing the war; and, at his request, his consort queen Mary prevailed upon her subjects to take part in the quarrel against France. Accordingly a considerable body of troops was sent over, under the earl of Pembroke, to join the king's army, which, under Philibert duke of Savoy, and count Egmont, were employed in the siege of St. Quintin, in Picardy†. The French army, under the command of the constable and marshal St. André, marched towards St. Quintin, to cover a reinforcement they meant to throw into the place, which aim they effected; but, in their retreat, prince Philibert and the count of Egmont attacked and routed them entirely, with great loss. This action happened on the 10th of August, dedicated by the church of Rome to the honour of St. Laurence the Martyr; and, four days after, the place was taken by storm, the king having then joined the army, a circumstance which struck the French with such consternation, that they immediately sent their fleet to Civita Vecchia, in order to bring over the duke of Guise's army from Italy; so that the pope, finding himself abandoned, was constrained to submit to such terms as the duke of Alba thought fit to prescribe, to receive him with great kindness when he made him a visit in Rome, and to dismiss him with his blessing‡.

A.D. 1557.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, the duke of Guise, having surprised some of the adjacent fortresses, pursued the advantage he gained so well as to make himself master of Calais, and all its dependencies, by which means the English being entirely driven out of France, a deep sense of the loss and disgrace so affected queen Mary, that it brought her to the grave§. The same duke, in the spring, attacked the strong fortress of Thionville, which he reduced; the marshal duke de Termes marched with a great body of forces from Calais, and, after sacking Dunkirk, advanced to Gravelines, where being attacked in front by the Spanish and Flemish horse, com-

The French beat at Gravelines by the assistance of the queen of England's fleet.

* Francisci Haræi Annales Ducum Brabantie & utriusque Belgii, fol. 1623. Campana, Thuanus, Mezeray, Ferreras. † Godwin's Annals, Ferreras.

‡ Godwin's Annals.

§ Rainald, Illescas, Ferreras.

manded by count Egmont, and taken in flank by the artillery of the English fleet, he was defeated, and taken prisoner, with the loss of almost all the army that he commanded. In Italyⁱ, the duke of Alba being recalled, that his severity might not lose those countries, which by his great military skill had been defended, the Turkish fleet, under the command of the basha Piali, consisting of one hundred and thirty galleys, came, in the month of June, and insulted the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and, having done what mischief they could, proceeded to Corsica, to join the French, who treated them that year as they had been treated by them the year before^k. They sailed from thence to Minorca, where they took and plundered Port Mahon, and then, with a large booty and many slaves on board, returned to Constantinople. The French army under monsieur de la Motte gained some advantages in the beginning of the summer, but were afterwards defeated; and, about the approach of winter, the two crowns, being equally weary of the war, consented to a negotiation, and a suspension of arms, in order to pave the way for a stable and solid peace^l.

A.D. 1552.

Peace concluded by Philip at Chateau Cambresis, in which the empire and England are abandoned.

In the beginning of the year the peace was concluded at Chateau Cambresis, in which it was stipulated, that his catholic majesty should marry the princess Elizabeth of France, who, in the life-time of Mary of England, had been thought of for his son the prince Don Carlos. Madame Margaret, the French king's sister, was to marry the duke of Savoy, in consideration of which match the French were to restore to him all his dominions. Corsica was to return to the Genoese; the Spaniards quitted all claim to Burgundy; and the French to the Milanese and the kingdom of Naples. In this treaty Philip did not take proper care of his allies; for the empire lost Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and the English Calais; though, to save appearances, it was stipulated that the French should render it in eight years, if queen Elizabeth did not furnish them within that time with a pretence to keep it^m. The duke of Alba was sent to Paris, to espouse the princess Elizabeth for the king; and the duke of Savoy went thither to wed the princess Margaret for himself. The rejoicings for these marriages, and for the peace, were

ⁱ Emanuel Meteren Histoire des Pays-Bas, depuis 1515 jusqu'en 1612, fol. 1618.

^k Campana.

^l Herreras

^m Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. v. part. 1. p. 34.

interrupted by the fatal accident of the French king's death, by a splinter of a lance that struck him in the eye; which, however, had no influence on the treaty or the marriagesⁿ. Philip hastened his return to Spain, and left his sister Margaret, princess of Parma, governess of the Low Countries, keeping her son prince Alexander Farnese at Madrid, by way of hostage, under colour of providing for his education. The king embarked in Zealand on the 20th of August, and arrived in Biscay on the twenty-ninth^o. He held soon after an assembly of the states of Castile at Toledo, where, according to the desire of his father, he acknowledged Don Juan of Austria for his brother; and is said to have wept when he first saw him, because of the strong resemblance he had to the emperor^p. On the 4th of October the king was present at an act of faith, and, which is singular enough, he is highly commended by the Spanish historians for his want of humanity, and for his attributing to the gospel of peace, cruelties that would have made Mohammedans tremble: but the inquisition were resolved to tear up what they styled heresy by the roots. Having persuaded the king to consider this as a point of state, they proceeded without mercy, and he, who should have protected, was present, and looked on the slaughter of his subjects with pleasure.

A.D. 1559.

The princess Elizabeth of France, being conducted to the frontiers of that kingdom by the cardinal of Bourbon and the duke of Vendôme, was received there by the cardinal archbishop of Burgos and the duke of Infantada, who conducted her to Toledo, where the marriage was celebrated with great pomp on the 2d of February. In the assembly of the states held soon after, the prince Don Carlos was acknowledged successor, and sworn to by all who were present. The knights of Malta having solicited the king very earnestly to recover Tripoli out of the hands of the infidels, the command of that expedition was committed to the duke of Medina Celi, viceroy of the Sicilies, who assembled for that purpose a numerous army and a strong fleet. He was assisted also by Doria, by the pope, and other princes and states of Italy, and was very successful at the beginning, making himself master of the island of Gerbes. While he remained there with his fleet, he was surprised by the basha Piali, with

The duke de Medina Celi, with the Spanish fleet, beat by the Turks.

A.D. 1560.

ⁿ Cabrera.
zar de Mendoza.

^o Emanuel Meteren. Herrera.

^p Sala-

The whole force of the Othman empire under his command, which threw the Christians into such a panic, that they might with greater propriety be said to be destroyed than defeated. The duke himself escaped with great difficulty; his son, with several other persons of distinction, were taken prisoners, together with twenty galleys, and at least as many were sunk. Soon after the fortress and island of Gerbes were likewise reduced¹. The king Don Philip was extremely affected by this misfortune, and immediately demanded from the new pope, Pius the Fourth, the necessary powers for raising money on the clergy. Antony of Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, endeavoured to engage the pope to procure from his catholic majesty the restitution of the kingdom of Navarre, which he claimed in right of the family of Albret, but without effect; though it is said Philip was not extremely well satisfied with his own title to that kingdom². The city of Toledo appearing to the king less convenient for the residence of his court than Madrid, he removed thither this year, and began to plan those improvements which have since rendered it the capital of Spain³. The persecution against the protestants was still carried on with unrelenting severity. On the 22d of December, there was an act of faith held at Seville, in which some were put to death, and many were condemned to grievous punishments, of which perpetual imprisonment was amongst the mildest⁴.

A.D. 1561.

The king, sensible of that insolence which prosperity always inspires, more especially amongst the Turks, gave orders for building galleys in all the ports on the coasts of Catalonia, Valencia, Naples, and Sicily, and directed such precautions to be taken for the protection of all the maritime parts of his dominions as preserved them from any insult. The jealousies and heart-burnings, that afterwards produced such terrible consequences in the Low Countries, began about this time, not through any fault in the dukes of Parma, but from the rigour and haughtiness of the bishop of Mechlin, so well known to the world by the title he acquired next year of cardinal Granvelle⁵. The great danger that Spain was in of being at-

¹ Giacomo Bosio *Hist. dell' Origine de San Giovanni Gerosolimitana*, fol. 1594. ² Rainald. ³ Cepeda.

⁴ *Annales Ecclesiastiques y Seglares de la Ciudad de Seville desde el anno 1246, en que fue conquistada del Poder de los Moros, hasta el de 1671. por Don Diego Ortiz de Zuniga*, fol. Madrid 1677. ⁵ Cabrera.

tacked by the infidels, and the repeated intelligence which the court received that the Moriscos in the kingdom of Granada held secret correspondence with the Moors in Barbary, induced the king to cause them all to be disarmed. This step was taken with great dexterity and address, but at the same time it so terrified those poor people, that it has been thought the most probable cause of their subsequent insurrection *. The Moors threatening Oran with a siege, the king ordered Don Juan de Mendoza to sail from Malaga with a squadron of twenty-four gallies, having a body of troops on board, for that fortress; but they met with such a storm at sea, that twenty-two gallies, four thousand men, and amongst them the general himself, and several other persons of quality, were lost *. In the course of this year an accident befell the prince Don Carlos, which was very near being fatal to him. The king had sent him, together with his brother Don Juan of Austria, and his nephew prince Alexander of Farnese, to the university of Alcala de Henares, to pursue their studies. The prince, who was then about seventeen, and very sprightly and active, unluckily fell down stairs, by which accident he received such a blow on the head, that for some time he scarce gave any signs of life. By degrees, however, he came to himself, and continued for some days tolerably well, when on a sudden he was attacked by a fever, attended with such violent symptoms, that the physicians acquainted the king that his life was in the utmost danger. Philip thereupon immediately repaired to Alcala, where he shewed the utmost tenderness and concern for the prince, who is said to have recovered, when at the very point of death, by laying his hand upon the head of a dead monk, afterwards highly revered in Spain by the name of St. Diego †.

A.D. 1562.

Don Carlos prince of Spain in great danger of death from a fall down stairs.

In the spring of the ensuing year, the king Don Philip, after having maturely considered the plan offered him by Juan Baptista de Toledo, for building a most magnificent edifice, or rather a group of elegant and magnificent structures, made choice of a great extent of rough, barren, and heathy country, at a small distance from the village of Escorial, which lies about seven leagues from Madrid, where the first stone of the monastery was laid with great solemnity on the 23d of April; and, on the

The king builds the stately and splendid edifice of the Escorial.

* Historia de la Rebellion y Castigo de los Moriscos del Reyno de Granada, por Luys de Marmol Carvajal, fol. 1600. † Ferreras. ‡ Francois de Pena dans le Vie de St. Diego. liv. ii.

20th of August following, the foundation of the church was likewise laid with equal solemnity, and dedicated to the honour of the holy martyr St. Laurence, who is said to have been broiled alive at Rome in the third century^a. The best Spanish authors say, that in this work the king executed the will of his father, who was very desirous of erecting a monastery for the burial-place of himself and his family, worthy of those vast dominions over which they ruled while living; and, as a proof of this assertion they allege the placing Geronymites in the monastery; but at the same time it is agreed, that the dedication of the church, and indeed the whole form of the structure, which is that of a gridiron, is to be referred to the victory of St. Quintin, which was gained upon the feast of St. Laurence^a. In the spring, the project of Hassan, the son of Barbarossa king of Algiers, for the recovery of Oran and Mazalquivir out of the hands of the Spaniards, began to discover itself. He had formerly treated with his catholic majesty, of which intrigue as they had some suspicion at Constantinople, he framed this design to recover his credit, and employed in it the whole force of the infidels in Africa, as well as a great naval armament, which was furnished by the grand signior.

*Hassan
king of
Algiers be-
sieges the
fortresses
of Oran
and Maz-
alquivir.*

About the middle of March he took the field with a numerous army, invested both fortresses, and so stationed his squadrons, that they could obtain little or no relief by sea. The count de Alcandete commanded in Oran, and his brother Don Martin de Cordova in Mazalquivir, who having an intire affection for, and perfect confidence in each other, made all the necessary dispositions for a long and gallant defence. As there were many strong forts and outworks detached from the body of both places, the two brothers took care to put these in the best state of defence possible, because they might be defended with a small force, and their garrisons frequently changed. This precaution had a good effect; for though, in Oran and Mazalquivir, the allowance of provisions was very sparing, yet, in the forts, the soldiers were allowed to fare well; and when they were either wounded or fatigued beyond measure, the garrison was changed. By these methods the Turks suffered extremely, and paid very dear for every yard of ground they gained; but at length they came to attack Mazalquivir by sea, and notwithstanding they were

^a Historia de la Orden de San Geronimo, por Fray Joseph de Si-
guenza de la misma Orden, fol. 1613. ^a Herrera.

repulsed

repulsed in several general assaults, as they persisted obstinately in the pursuit of their point, the place would have been probably taken, if the Christian fleet had not arrived, under the command of Don Francisco de Mendoza, upon which king Hosssein was obliged to retire, after a fruitless siege of three months. Philip immediately declared the count de Alcandete viceroy of Navarre, and gave his brother Don Martin de Cordova, and all the officers who commanded under them, particular marks of his favour^b. This war engaged the king to cause the Moors of Valentia to be disarmed, which was done throughout that kingdom in a single hour, and six thousand sabres, that were taken from them, were sent to the militia in the island of Sardinia^c. In the winter Philip made a tour to Saragossa, where he was treated with great splendor and magnificence; however, being informed that great acts of injustice were committed by magistrates, and other persons in power, upon the lower sort of people, he caused many to be put to death, and their estates being confiscated, he made full restitution out of them to all who had been injured. He went from thence to Monçon, where he held the states of Arragon, Catalonia, and Valentia, when he obtained very liberal supplies, and immediately issued his orders for assembling a very numerous fleet in the spring, as well as for finishing all the galleys upon the stocks^d. The king, still neglecting to recall cardinal Granvelle, the troubles in the Low Countries daily increased. The council of Trent being closed this year, the Spanish prelates and divines, who had assisted there, returned home, and the king, who had been the principal support of that council, received them with much respect.

As the king had been informed that some of his subjects in America were apprehensive that they might some time or other be divided from Castile, he caused a solemn instrument to be drawn up, by which all the countries the Spaniards possessed, or which might be conquered by them, in that part of the world, were irrevocably annexed to that crown; for the due performance of which law, he, for himself, his heirs and successors, pledged his royal faith to them and their posterity; which act was transmitted thither for their satisfaction^e. As the succession depended at this time solely on the life of the prince Don

A.D. 1563.

Don Garcias de Toledo attacks and reduces the castle of Penon de Velez.

^b Pierre de Salazar.
udad y Reyno de Valentia.
pana.

^c Gaspar Escolano Hist. de la Ci-
^d Cabrera.

^e Cam-

Carlos, the king sent for his nephews the archdukes Rodolph and Ernest, the sons of Maximilian king of the Romans, and received them with great kindness and affection. The vast preparations that had been made, as well in Italy as in Spain, for assembling a great naval power, were in some measure relaxed, upon the king's having certain intelligence that the Turks had laid aside their design of sending their fleet into the Mediterranean; but, however, as the expence had been very great, as many gallies were assembled at Carthage, and as the squadrons of Portugal and Malta were arrived, it was determined to employ them. The king judged no expedition so proper for that purpose as the reduction of Penon de Velez, a fortress which the Moors had recovered out of the hands of the Christians, and under the cannon of which their corsairs took refuge whenever they were chased by the gallies of Spain. There had been an attempt made upon the place the year before, but without effect, chiefly through a misunderstanding amongst the general officers employed in that service. The command was now given to Don Garcia Toledo, viceroy of Sicily, who, with a numerous army and a potent fleet, failed in order to execute his master's orders. Notwithstanding the place was very strong from situation, as well as art, covered by several good forts, and defended by a numerous garrison, it was, after a very gallant defence, abandoned by the infidels, and, the Spanish troops taking possession of it, was fortified in a better manner, and rendered much stronger, than before ^f. The king ordered the decrees of the council of Trent to be published, enforced, and obeyed, throughout all his dominions. It was this step that determined the inhabitants of the Low Countries to defend liberty of conscience by the sword, and to prevent the introduction of the inquisition amongst them; and they began to dispose every thing for throwing off the yoke of Spain, notwithstanding the king had at length, to comply with their desires, made use of an honourable pretence to remove cardinal Granvelle; a condescension that, two years before, might have restored the public tranquillity, but was then considered as a testimony that the king saw he had been in the wrong.

A. D. 1564.

^f Mambrino Rosco *Compendio della Storia dal Regno di Napoli, p. rte secunda, che seguita la parte prima del Collenuccio, con le Annotazioni di Tomaso Costo, e vol Libro settimo Colonello Pacca, 4to. 1613.*

^g Antonio Canero *Historia de las Guerras Civiles que ha euido en los Estados de Flandres, fol. 1625*

The corsairs of Barbary, notwithstanding their loss at Penon de Velez, continued still to disturb the commerce, and to make frequent descents upon the coast of Spain, which it was impossible for the king's squadrons to prevent, as they committed these depredations in light ships, and by surprize. However, Philip recollecting the advice given him by Don Garcia de Toledo, resolved to send a squadron, with a certain number of vessels filled with stone and bitumen, to block up and spoil the mouth of the river of Tetuan, to which these pirates commonly resorted. This measure, as it was wisely contrived, was very happily executed, to the great satisfaction of the king and benefit of his subjects. But it was not long before both he and they were alarmed with certain intelligence that the Turks were arming with incredible diligence, and that they would speedily put to sea a greater fleet than any that had yet appeared. On this intelligence, proper precautions were taken for the security of the Spanish coasts, more especially those of Catalonia and Valentia, for the protection of Majorca, Sardinia, and Corsica, for putting Sicily and Naples in a proper condition of defence, and for assembling the gallies of Genoa, Tuscany, and the other Italian states, to be employed as occasion might require^a. The French monarch Charles IX. and his mother, having demanded an interview with his catholic majesty at Bayonne, he excused himself, and sent the queen Donna Isabella to confer with her mother and brother, attended by the duke of Alba, and some other persons of great quality. In these conferences, which lasted about three weeks, it is said that various resolutions were taken for extinguishing heresy, or, to speak with greater propriety, for the extirpation of those whom they styled hereticsⁱ. The king likewise caused several provincial councils to be held in his dominions, in which the decrees of the assembly of Trent were received; and though one would have imagined this conduct, must have been very acceptable at Rome, yet it happened quite otherwise; for Pius IV. observing that all this was done by virtue of the royal prerogative, and without so much as mentioning his holiness's name, was extremely offended.

*Intervew
at Bayonne
between the
queen of
Spain, her
mother,
and brother.*

A.D 1562.

In the mean time, certain advice was received, that this prodigious armament of the Turks was intended against Malta, which induced the grand-master Jean de Valette to demand the assistance of all the Christian powers. Don

*The grand
signior
causes the
issind of
Malta to
be invaded
by Sinan
basha,*

^a Cabrera.

ⁱ Duplex, Thuanus.

Garcia de Toledo, viceroy of Sicily, went thither immediately with a squadron of twenty-eight gallies, in order to give the best advice and assistance in his power. He found all things in a much better state than he expected, and the grand-master at the head of five hundred knights, and four thousand regular troops besides, exclusive of two thousand five hundred domestics, capable of bearing arms. He left with him his natural son Don Frederic, with a hundred Spanish volunteers; and having furnished him with ammunition and provisions, and promised him all the succours in his power, he returned to Sicily towards the end of April. On the 18th of May, the Turkish fleet, commanded by Piali basha, consisting of upwards of three hundred sail, appeared in sight, and landed soon after an army of forty-five thousand men, under the command of Mustapha basha. As the Turkish generals are almost always responsible for the success of the expeditions in which they are employed, they pushed their military operations with prodigious obstinacy, notwithstanding the great and continual losses they sustained, which, however, were as regularly supplied by continual reinforcements. While things were in this situation, a vast naval force was assembled in Sicily, where, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of the grand-master, the viceroy Don Garcia delayed their departure, which delay occasioned much discontent in John Andrew Doria, and other principal officers; but the viceroy considered, that, if the expedition miscarried, it must be fatal to Malta, and might be so to Naples and Sicily. At length, however, taking his measures from his own intelligence, he sailed with a fleet of seventy gallies, and, on the 6th of September, landed twelve thousand Spanish and Italian foot without any interruption, and returned safe with his fleet to Sicily^k.

*Relieved
by succours
from Sicily,
by whom
the Turks
are defeated
in battle.*

The Turks as soon as they knew that the succours were landed, raised the siege, embarked their artillery, and would have put their troops on board, but that Piali basha persuaded Mustapha to attack the Christians in their camp. This advice he took, and was ignominiously repulsed; upon which he retired to the fleet, and the Turks quitted the island with much precipitation^l. The viceroy of Sicily returned with his fleet, and pursued them, but with no great effect; then he reembarked the forces, and carried them back to Sicily. This war produced some very singular consequences in Spain, where Don Juan of Austria

^k Gonzales de Illescas Historia Pontifical. Rainald, Ferreras.
^l Giacom, Bosio.

made his escape from court, with a sincere intention of going to Malta, to signalize himself against the infidels; but, over-heating himself in his journey, fell sick of a fever in Arragon, where he received the king's orders to return, which he was forced to obey^m. The prince Don Carlos was inclined to take the same step, but in appearance only; for, in reality, he meant to go to Flanders, being upon bad terms with his father. By a strange infatuation, the person he trusted was Ruy Gomez de Silva, the king's favourite, who cheated him with a false letter from the viceroy of Naples, importing that Malta was relieved; upon which he laid aside his journey, and then, as is generally supposed, revealed it to his fatherⁿ. This year prince Alexander Farnese was sent by the king to his mother in Flanders, after procuring for him Donna Maria, the daughter of the infant Don Edward of Portugal, in marriage; and Don Antonio, who afterwards took the title of king of Portugal, being at this time upon bad terms with the regency, retired to Madrid, where he was kindly received by king Philip^o.

Towards the close of the preceding year, pope Pius IV. had sent a cardinal, with the title of his legate, accompanied by two commissaries, to enquire into the reasons which had induced the inquisition to seize and imprison the archbishop of Toledo; but the death of the pope obliged the cardinal-legate to return, and put an end to the commission. The king was in hopes that the cardinal of Alexandria, who, upon his accession to the papal throne, assumed the name of Pius V. might have been prevailed upon to act in a different manner from his predecessor; but it proved otherwise; for he not only renewed the commission, but likewise ordered that the archbishop should be sent to Rome, with all the original pieces that regarded his process, which order the inquisition at first endeavoured to evade, but with which at length they were obliged to comply^p. King Philip's intelligence, though it was generally pretty good, failed him this year, in regard to the motions of the Turks, who, he was brought to believe, would employ their whole strength in a land-war against Hungary. This kingdom they attacked, indeed, with a numerous army; but at the same time they dispatched Piali basha, with a strong fleet, to plunder the coast of Naples, which service he performed so effectually,

Intrigues of Don Carlos with the malcontents in the Low Countries discovered.

^m Lorenzo Vander Hammen y Leon Historia del Juan de Austria, 4to, 1627. ⁿ Cabrera. ^o Faria y Sousa. ^p Herrera.

A.D. 1566.

that, after loading his galleys as deep as they would swim with booty and slaves, he was constrained to leave much that he had taken behind, having intelligence that Don Garcia de Toledo was at sea with a fleet to attack him.⁹ On the 11th of August, the queen Donna Isabella was delivered of a daughter, who was baptised by the pope's nuncio, and had the name given her of Isabella Clara Eugenia.¹ The prince Don Carlos was one of the sponsors at this ceremony, though the king had discovered his intrigues with Montigny, one of the deputies from the malcontents in the Low Countries, by whom he was solicited to go thither.² For this correspondence that unfortunate gentleman was sent prisoner to the castle of Segovia, and, upon his attempting to make his escape from thence, was transferred to Medina del Campo, where, with some of his friends, who had accompanied him to Spain, he lost his life upon a scaffold. Not long after this event, a resolution was taken to send the duke of Alba to support the inquisition, and compel the Flemings to remain good catholics by a military force, though some of the council advised that the king should go thither in person; and, perhaps, his affairs would have taken a better turn, if he had yielded to this advice.³

*The arch-
bishop of
Granada
stirs up a
persecution
against the
Morescoes.*

Don Pedro Guerrero, archbishop of Granada, having made a tour to Rome, to visit the new pope, acquainted him with the strong suspicions he had that the Morescoes in his diocese were few or none of them Christians in their hearts; that, though they were baptized, he was informed they afterwards washed their children's faces with hot water, as a token of their intention to efface that sacrament; that, after they were married according to their usual form in the churches, they espoused their wives privately at home, after the manner of the Moors; that they pursued the same conduct in other respects, received privately their countrymen from Africa, gave them intelligence prejudicial to the Christians, and frequently stole their neighbours children, whom they sold to these corsairs, who carried them into Barbary, circumcised, and brought them up Mohammedans. Upon this information, the zealous pope wrote in very strong terms to king Philip, to stir him up against these poor people, and to raise a new flame about religion in Spain, at a time when

⁹ Mambrino Roseo. ¹ Giacomo Bosio. ² Diego de Colmenares Historia de la Ciudad de Segovia, fol. 1637. ³ Ferreras.

he was already sufficiently embarrassed by pursuing this conduct in the Low Countries. If this conduct was strange in the pope, it was still stranger in the king, who took his advice, and sent express orders into the kingdom of Granada to oblige the Morescoes to change their habit, their manners, and their language, all at once. Mondejar, who was captain-general of that province, and others of his principal officers, remonstrated strongly in favour of those poor people, and declared their unwillingness to attempt the execution of a scheme equally unreasonable and impracticable, which looked as if they had a design to drive them first into despair, and then into rebellion". The Moors themselves also, by their deputies, represented with great humility the sad situation they were in; and with much modesty, but by clear and strong arguments, refuted the principal points of accusation that had been urged against them: but it was to little or no effect, except procuring a small respite; for the king gave express orders, even to those who had most strongly opposed this measure, to take their instructions from the resident Spinosa, a man who, in point of inflexibility, did not yield at all to the duke of Alba himself; and we shall quickly see what this produced.

The king ordered a fleet to be assembled at Corunna, and it was certainly given out, at least if not intended, that he would go in person to the Low Countries. Thuanus assures us, that permission was asked from Charles IX. to debark the Spanish troops at Frejus, and so to march them by land into Burgundy; but the king found a civil pretence for declining what it was not either his interest or his inclination to grant. When the duke of Alba came to take his leave of the prince Don Carlos, in order to go to Flanders, the young man threw himself into a violent passion; told him he meant to go thither himself; that the army should have no other chief; and that he should not presume to go thither on pain of his high displeasure. The duke of Alba answered with great respect, that, at this time, those countries were in the utmost confusion; that he went to settle tranquillity; that the prince would better bestow that time in preserving a life infinitely precious to Spain; and that when all troubles were composed, he might visit the Low Countries without danger, and be the distributor of those favours which his father might think fit to bestow on such as he desired either to

The duke of Alba goes into the Low Countries, and the princess Margaret resigns the government.

■ Luyſ de Marmol, Carvajal.

reward

A D 1567.

reward or to reclaim. He added, that, at all events, it was his own duty to obey the king's orders, which he hoped his highness would not take amiss. The prince immediately drew his dagger in great passion, and would have killed him; but the duke seized him by the arms, cried out for help, and, as soon as some of the courtiers entered, withdrew, and informed the king of this strange event *. The duke of Alba landing at Nice, passed into Lombardy, and put himself at the head of the Spanish army, which, though not very numerous, was composed of such good troops, and the duke's military reputation was then at such a height, that some of the greatest powers of Europe were alarmed. The Swiss were apprehensive, that, in compliment to the pope, the duke would have taken Geneva in his passage; and therefore they thought fit to arm, by way of precaution. The protestants in France had their fears; but the duke executed his commission punctually, and, having conducted the army into the county of Burgundy, proceeded from thence into Flanders, where having caused the counts of Egmont and Horn to be arrested as they came from council, he directed a citadel to be built at Antwerp. As he paid little or no regard to the princess Margaret, she very prudently resigned the title of governess, and retired into Italy, leaving the duke to reap all the fruits and all the glory of his own measures †.

*The prince
Don Carlos
forms a de-
sire of
quitting his
father's
court and
flying into
Germany.*

The unfortunate prince Don Carlos of Spain seemed to be intent upon accomplishing his own ruin. He had the misfortune to be deformed in his person, and to have a weakness in one of his legs; circumstances which occasioned more than ordinary indulgence to be shewn him in his infancy; and this, if it did not excite, at least strengthened bad habits. He was hasty and passionate, obstinate and sullen, very apt to take offence, and implacable in his aversions; which very probably was the occasion of his distractions. Don Garcia Toledo, his governor, who had a sincere affection for him, taking the liberty, as they were riding together in a wood, to expostulate with him upon his ill conduct, the prince suddenly attempted to kill him; upon which he immediately set spurs to his horse and fled to Madrid ‡. The prince was desirous of marrying his cousin the archduchess Anne of Austria, a match which was likewise very acceptable to the emperor; but as the king made no great haste in the negocia-

* Cabrera. Ferreras. † Herrera, Cabrera, Haræi Famiani
Stradæ de Bello Belgico. Meteren. ‡ Ferreras.

tion, he conceived in his own mind that the king thought him unfit to be married, and incapable of the succession. In this opinion he took a resolution of flying into Germany, and wrote letters to most of the nobility, desiring their assistance in a certain great affair, which they promised him, provided it was not against his father, and furnished him with a very large sum of money. He then broke the matter to Don John of Austria, and pressed him to concur in it; but he told him that he had put it out of his power; that some of the nobility would acquaint the king, and therefore it was better in him to drop the design ^a.

But he persisted; upon which his confessor forsook him. The admiral, and some other lords, having brought his letters to the king, and his majesty being likewise informed that the master of the posts had received the prince's orders to furnish horses for a long journey, he resolved to arrest him; and for this purpose went the same day, which was the 18th of January, to Madrid. About midnight he entered his son's apartment in the palace, attended by Ruy Gomez de Silva, Don Juan Manrique de Lara, Don Antonio de Toledo, the prior of St. John, and Lewis Quixada, the duke of Feria following with some of the guards. The prince, as soon as he saw him, shrunk under the bed-cloaths, crying out, "Will your majesty kill me? I am not mad, but am rendered desperate by the manner in which your majesty treats me." The king bid him make himself easy, and be assured that he meant every thing for his good. The king seized all the arms that were in the room, together with his papers, and a strong box. He then appointed six noblemen of the first families in Spain, to wait upon the prince, with express orders that two of them should have him constantly in their sight, and that they should permit him to have nothing in his reach by which he might endanger his own life ^a. The king immediately gave notice to the pope's nuncio, and to all the foreign ministers, of the motives which led him to treat the prince in this manner. He likewise imparted them to all the great towns by a letter, which is still extant in more volumes than one ^b. Their imperial majesties interposed with great earnestness and anxiety in favour of the prince; but the king assured them, that he had taken the advice of ci-

On which the king goes in person to his apartment, and causes him to be arrested.

^a Herrera.

^a Cabrera.

^b Diego de Colmenares.

vilians and divines before he proceeded so far; and that they might be assured he would act with caution and tenderness for the future^c.

He dies under that confinement in a few months.

Don Carlos, however, bore his confinement with great impatience. He refused all nourishment for two whole days, of which obstinacy the king being informed, he went to his apartment, and staid till he had taken some refreshment. He afterwards eat with great avidity, and overcharged his stomach. When the weather became hot he drank to excess of iced water, by which he weakened the tone of his stomach to such a degree, that it would bear nothing. His physicians, seeing the danger he was in, advised him to prepare for death, which he did with great piety and calmness, being assisted by his confessor and other divines. He desired earnestly to see his father, who went to him immediately and gave him his blessing. The prince begged his pardon, and desired that he would provide for his servants. The king asked him what he would have done for them, and, when he told him, promised to do all that he had asked. In a short time after the king withdrew he expired, on the 24th of June, in the 24th year of his age^d. Such was the end of this unhappy prince, according to the best Spanish historians; but other writers have taken great freedom upon this subject, and have, without scruple, asserted that he was put to death by his father's command^e. If this be true it is inexcusable; if it be not true, the king was doubly unfortunate in the loss of his son and of his reputation, of which few princes were so tender. He caused the whole court to go into mourning, and buried him publickly with great splendor^f (A).

The

^c Ferreras.
Pierre Matthieu.

^d Campana.

^e Hist. de France, par
^f Cabrera, Campana.

(A) The prevailing opinion, as to the violent death of the prince Don Carlos, has proceeded chiefly from the confidence with which it was reported by French historians. Pierre Matthieu has given a long account of the proceedings against him before the inquisition, the issue of which was his being sentenced to

death; but he was allowed to chuse what death he pleased; which having refused, four slaves came into his chamber in a morning, where two held his arms, one his legs, and the other strangled him with a silken cord. The same writer agrees, that many were of opinion he was bled to death in a warm bath. Turquet asserts, that

The marquis de Mondejar, finding all his representations ineffectual, left the publication of the king's injunctions to his son the count de Tendilla; and they were accordingly published about the beginning of the year 2. The archbishop also enjoined the clergy in their respective parishes to require the Morescoes to register all their children from the age of five to fifteen, in order to be taught the Castilian tongue, and to be thoroughly instructed in the Christian religion. This manner of proceeding determined them at once to revolt; which resolution, though suddenly taken, was pursued with great slowness and secrecy, and was managed entirely by Farax Aben

*Revolt of
the Mo-
rescoes in
Granada.*

2 Diego de Mendoza.

that the inquisitors persuaded the king that he might lawfully put to death the prince his son, the queen his wife, and the prince with whom she was supposed to be with child, though it proved a princess. After all, he leaves it doubtful whether the prince was poisoned, or strangled by slaves. According to this writer, Don Carlos was impotent, and the unfortunate queen fell a sacrifice to the king's jealousy, not of the prince, but of the marquis de Poza. Monsieur St. Evremont says, the Spaniard who strangled Don Carlos, cried out while he was doing it, "Calla, calla, senor, todo que se hase es por su bien;" that is, *Hold your tongue, bold your tongue, sir; all that is done is for your good.* Paulus Piafeci, a Polish bishop and senator, who had his information from the Polish minister, then in the court of Philip II. says, in his *Chronica*, that the king, going from Valladolid, turned

out of the road to go and make a visit to his son at Madrid, out of paternal affection, and found him giving up the ghost; but he leaves it doubtful whether he died of poison or of grief. Morosini, the Venetian senator, who was permitted to inspect the dispatches of their minister to the republic, assures us, that Don Carlos, not being able to find a sword or dagger, the king left him no weapons, and suffered none to go near him armed, with which he might dispatch himself, took the diamond secretly out of his ring, and swallowed it; but finding this did him no hurt, weary of life, and ashamed of his imprisonment, he eat voraciously of all that was brought before him, and swallowed afterwards great quantities of cold water, which brought on a dysentery that killed him, but that he first received all the sacraments of the church, with his father's forgiveness and blessing (1).

(1) Paoli Morosini Historia della Citta e Republica di Venetia.

Farax, and some others of their chiefs. The first step they took was to send into the mountainous country of Alpujarros, where their strength lay; and finding that there were eighty-five thousand Moorish families, that they could with ease bring fifty thousand able men into the field, they conceived the recovery of Granada a thing very practicable, if the scheme was rightly conducted. They sent an agent to Algiers, without being suspected, and they contrived a very singular method of introducing their deputies to sound the minds of the people in all parts of the kingdom, without giving any umbrage. They addressed themselves to the archbishop of Granada, and having informed him, that a great number of their poor countrymen, coming about their business to the city, were taken sick and died, without receiving either temporal or spiritual comforts, they entreated him to procure a place for erecting an hospital without the gates, promising to leave it entirely to his direction. He obtained for them this favour, and afterwards passes for those whom they named to go abroad, and beg a sum sufficient to erect and to endow this hospital; and these were the very men who managed the insurrection^b. They first fixed upon Holy Thursday; but finding their preparations not complete, they put it off to Christmas Eve. In the mean time, another deputy of theirs, going to Africa, was discovered by accident. Though he made his escape into the mountains, yet his papers were seized, and sent to the court by the count de Tendilla, which gave such light into their designs, that the king ordered the marquis de Mondejar to repair immediately to Granada, who, by his great prudence, prevented their surprising that city¹. At the time appointed, however, or rather a little before, they revolted every where in the country; and having elected Don Ferdinand de Valor, a young man of the age of twenty-four, very rich, extremely brave, and very prudent, they proclaimed him, by the name of Mohammed Aben Humeya, king of Granada and Cordova, of which family he really was, and some of them had formerly bore the same title. He swore, at the time of his election, to live and die in support of the Mohammedan religion. After the revolt, they committed every where the most outrageous excesses, and the most inexcusable cruelties, more especially on ecclesiastics and women, profaning churches, and expressing

^a Cabrera, Herrera.ⁱ Luys de Marmol, Carvajal.

such

such an aversion and detestation of the Christian religion, as if they were desirous of justifying all that their enemies had said of them, and to bring those who had interceded on their behalf into suspicion with the court ^k.

In the month of May, the king named his brother Don Juan of Austria, captain-general of the galleys of Spain, and sent him to Carthagea to take upon him the command, after having given him very full instructions in regard to the operations of the campaign, and of his own conduct. Don Juan having with him Don Alvaro Bazan, and most of the old officers, received from them, with all imaginable docility, whatever counsels and lights they thought fit to give him, visited the coasts of Italy and of Africa, examined the ports, changed the garrisons, and returned to court in the month of September, and made a large report to the king of the condition in which he found things every where, with which his majesty was highly satisfied ^l. The queen Donna Isabella, who the year before had been delivered of another daughter, the infanta Donna Catalina, being in the fifth month of her third pregnancy, died of a miscarriage on the third of October, not without strong suspicions that her death was owing to ignorance, or something worse, in her physicians ^m. The murmurs this incident occasioned were extremely heightened, when it came to be known that the king had entered into a negociation for marrying the archduchess Anne of Austria, whom the emperor had intended for his son ⁿ. He sent, upon this occasion, his brother, the archduke Charles, to the court of Spain, with instructions to persuade the king, if possible, to recall the duke of Alba, and to pardon the prince of Orange. All possible marks of kindness and respect were shewn to the archduke; but the advices he gave in the emperor's name were not only slighted, but ill received; and the successes which the duke of Alba had this year in the Low Countries were magnified, as if he had actually put an end to the war ^o.

The death of Donna Isabella queen of Spain.

Mohammed Aben Humeya laboured all that was in his power to obtain assistance from the princes of Africa, and from the grand signior. The former promised much, and gave little; but as for the latter, he neither promised nor gave any thing at all. The Christians, under the command of the marquis de Mondejar, took the field, and

War with the Moriscoes in Granada.

^k Don Diego de Mendoza.
^m Herrera.

ⁿ Ferreras.

^l Lorenzo Vander Hammen.
^o Carrera.

carried on the war with vigour; but the marquis, who was thoroughly persuaded in his own mind, that a great part of the Morefcoes involved in this rebellion were in reality Christians, driven to madness and despair by oppression and ill usage, treated them with lenity, and received many to mercy; by which conduct he gained very useful intelligence, and brought the war, as he imagined, very near to an end. At Granada, however, the president Deza gave out that the marquis husbanded the war, in order to enrich himself and his captains by the plunder of the Morefcoes, for whom, at the same time, they suggested he had too much compassion, and held a correspondence with them inconsistent with the king's service. The marquis wrote to the archbishop of Granada, and justified himself fully; but it vexed him so much, that having dispossessed the Morefcoes of a post of great consequence, he caused the old men, women, and children, they had left behind them, to be put to the sword; an action unworthy of so great a man, and of which he was very much ashamed all his life after. The marquis de los Velez also entered the Alpujarros, and had many actions against the Morefcoes with different fortune; but he was jealous of the marquis of Mondejar, and would not act in concert with him, a jealousy which turned to the prejudice of both. The king, to put an end to these disputes, sent his brother Don Juan of Austria to command in chief with very full powers. He acted with great prudence; and having received the advice both of the marquis of Mondejar and of the president, he sent them in writing to the king, and desired to know whose advice he should take.

Reasons why the king would not exterminate those people, as he was pressed

The preference that was for some time given to violent councils furnished Aben Humeya with a better army than he had before, though he had been twice worsted by the marquis de Mondejar. He shewed great dexterity and courage in the perilous situation in which he was; for his father Don Antonio and his brother Don Francisco Valor were prisoners at Granada, and this circumstance induced him to write to the marquis of Mondejar and to Don Juan of Austria, a step which raised suspicions in his own people. He chastised such as discovered them with great severity, and, amongst the rest, put to death his father-in-law. By giving a loose to his passions, in taking several women, he created such jealousies, that one of his secretaries, by counterfeiting an order for cutting the throats of a body of Moors that came from Barbary to his assistance,

assistance, engaged them to conspire against him, and set up Lopez Aben Abo, at whose instance they seized the unfortunate Aben Humeya, and, notwithstanding he gave them the strongest assurances of his innocence, resolved to strangle him. When he found his death inevitable, he declared himself a Christian, and that he had acted out of revenge for the injuries done to his father and his family. Lopez Aben Abo assumed, with the royal dignity, the name of Muley Abdallah, took all imaginable precautions to prevent the Christians from penetrating into the mountains, laboured to procure fresh succours from Barbary, and, notwithstanding the duke of Sessa and Don Juan in person acted against him with numerous troops, and gained several advantages, he found ways and means to keep up the war to the conclusion of the year. The king Don Philip was exceedingly disturbed by this dangerous rebellion in the heart of his kingdom, and yet he was very unwilling to rely wholly upon his arms for putting an end to it, paying great regard to the suggestions of the marquis de Mondejar; that if the country of Alpujarros was totally depeopled, he would only gain a parcel of black rocks and desert mountains, into which the Moors from Barbary might steal over at pleasure, and keep up a war without end ^p. This year queen Elizabeth of England seized a great sum of money he was sending into Flanders, which seizure induced the first open rupture between the two courts; and this year the king concluded his marriage with the archduchess Anne of Austria, his niece ^q, notwithstanding he could not be ignorant how this was censured throughout Europe.

A.D. 1569.

Don Juan of Austria and the duke de Sessa renewed the war against the Moreosces immediately after Christmas, and met at first with a very obstinate resistance, by which numbers of men, and some persons of distinction, amongst whom was Lewis Quixada, whom Don Juan revered and loved as a father, were lost. Some strong places were reduced, and others revolted; so that on the whole there was a great slaughter on both sides, and no great success on either. In the mean time the king, by the advice of the president Deza, caused the Moreosces to be removed out of the city and plain of Granada into the kingdom of Castile, where they had lands given them, and satisfaction for what they left behind. However, some of the noble

A.D. 1570.

An end at length put to this war, and the arrival of the archduchess queen in Spain.

^p Diego de Mendoza.

^q Camden's Annals, Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. v. part i. p. 175.

families expostulated upon this treatment, and insisted upon the privileges they had from Don Ferdinand and the emperor Charles, upon their constant fidelity to the crown of Spain, the services they had rendered, and the impossibility of making satisfaction for their large estates; upon which the president was obliged to demand an explanation of the king's order, and whether it would admit of any exceptions. To this remonstrance Don Philip answered, that the privileges of his predecessors were inviolable, that it was never his intention to invade them, and that the Morescoes, distinguished by their fidelity, should be likewise distinguished by marks of his favour. This declaration had a great effect, for some of the chiefs of the rebels immediately began to treat, and even Lopez Aben Abo insinuated, that he had been forced to do all that he had done; upon which Don Juan offered him pardon, and great possessions; but he acted perfidiously, and murdered Abaqui, a noble Moresco, who had laboured honestly to put an end to these troubles. This perfidy induced another of his countrymen to treat him in the same manner; and, upon his death, the public tranquillity was quickly restored¹. This war of the Morescoes lasted between two and three years, cost the lives of twenty thousand Castilian soldiers, about five times that number of Morescoes, and depopulated and destroyed some of the finest countries in Spain. The king, towards the close of the summer, made great preparations for the celebration of his marriage; which he might well do, since, upon his making a tour to Seville in the spring, which city he had never before honoured with his presence, they made him a present of six hundred thousand ducats². His intended consort, the archduchess Anne, came from Germany into the Low Countries, where the duke of Alba had prepared a fleet to transport her into Spain; and though at that time, and chiefly through his management, there was no good understanding between the two courts, yet queen Elizabeth, in point of civility, sent an English squadron to escort the archduchess, and to invite her to put into any English port, in case the season, which was far advanced, should render it expedient³. She embarked on the 24th of September, and arrived, without any accident, at the port of St. Andero in Biscay, from whence, accompanied by her brothers the archdukes Albert and Wenceslaus, she continued her journey to Valladolid,

¹ Gaspar Escolano.² Ortiz de Zuniga.³ Cabrera.

where

where she was met by the archdukes Rodolph and Ernest, and from thence came to Segovia, where she was received by the princess Donna Juanna and the cardinal Zuniga Espinosa. There the marriage was celebrated about the middle of November, and the court returned to Madrid. The king entered this year into what was called the Holy League against the Turks, in favour of the Venetians, and sent prince Doria with his gallies to join the fleet of the allies; which, though a great force, did little, through the disputes that arose amongst the several generals who commanded. The duke of Alba, having rendered himself universally odious in the Low Countries by his cruelties, displeased his master by his imprudence, in causing his own statue to be erected at Antwerp, with figures representing the states under his feet *.

A general council was held at Venice, composed of the ministers of the powers embarked in the Holy League, wherein it was agreed, that the fleet should consist of two hundred gallies, and the army of fifty thousand foot and four thousand horse. The pope agreed to furnish the sixth part of the expence; the smaller states of Italy promised the like proportion amongst them, which agreement did not take effect; the republic of Venice a third, and his catholic majesty one half. Mark Antonio Colonna was appointed to command the pope's gallies, the Venetians named for their general Sebastian Venier, and Don Juan of Austria was declared generalissimo of the league. The emperor of the Ottomans, Selim, having reduced a great part of Cyprus, sent his fleet, consisting of two hundred and eighty gallies, exclusive of ships of war and galliots, commanded in chief by Hali basha, and under him by four other bashas, with orders to fight the Christians at all events. In the mean time Don Juan of Austria, having assembled the fleet of the league, and reviewed them carefully, found the Venetian gallies feebly manned, and indifferently provided with ammunition. To remedy the first, he put on board them four thousand of his own troops, and supplied the latter from his stores. At Corfu a grand council was held, when, by the advice of prince Doria, the following orders were settled: The van, consisting of fifty-four gallies carrying green streamers, was commanded by Andrew Doria, which, in the line of battle, was to form on the right; Don Juan, with the

A.D. 1571.

Don Juan gains against the Turks the glorious victory of Lepanto.

Herrera.

* Thuanus.

D d 4

grand

grand commander of Castile, and the generals of the pope and the republic of Venice, followed next, with sixty-four gallies, whose streamers were blue, the standard of the league being carried by the Real ; this squadron was to compose the main body in the line : then came the provveditore Barbarigo with his squadron of fifty-five gallies, and yellow streamers, which was to form the left ; the rear guard, which consisted of thirty gallies with white streamers, was commanded by the marquis of Santa Cruz ; and in this order, on the 7th of October, the two fleets met in the gulph of Lepanto. The Turks formed in a half-moon, into which they brought two hundred and thirty gallies and seventy galliots. The first shot was fired by Hali basha, and answered by Don Juan of Austria from the Real. The Christians made no great haste to engage, depending upon the artillery of their galleasses, which were extremely well served, and put the Turks into great confusion ; at length Barbarigo, with the left wing, began the attack, and the battle became general about half an hour after twelve. Don Juan engaged the gally of Hali, and, after an obstinate resistance, carried it, the commander being killed upon the spot. Upon this, he ordered the banner of the cross to be displayed upon the mainmast, and the head of Hali to be fixed upon a pike, and placed in the stern ; after this incident it was all carnage and confusion ; and if Uluciali, who was in the left wing, had not retired in time with twenty-eight gallies, the whole Ottoman fleet must have been destroyed. They lost thirty thousand men, besides ten thousand that were taken prisoners, and fifteen thousand Christian slaves released. Thirty gallies were sunk, twenty-five burnt, and one hundred and thirty taken. On the side of the Christians, the loss, in the whole, amounted to about ten thousand men ; but, through the want of unanimity in their generals, they lost the fruits of their victory, and, after disputing a long time about what they should do, agreed at last to do nothing. The king Don Philip celebrated this victory by a feast, which continued nine days ; and appointed the anniversary to be kept for ever in the cathedral of Toledo, to which he sent the standard of the grand signior, and other trophies *. The queen, on the 4th of December, was delivered of the prince Don Ferdinand ; and in this year the Spaniards seized the important fortress of Final, to which they pretended no better title, than that it might fall into worse hands *.

* Ant. de Herrera.

* Illescas.

The next year a grand council was held at Rome, to consider of the most effectual method for continuing the war. The grand commander of Castile, who was there on the part of the crown of Spain, proposed, that the pope, the Venetians, and the lesser states of Italy, should attack Albania and the adjacent countries; that the maritime force of Spain should be employed against the Turks and Moors in Africa; while the emperor and the king of Poland should make a powerful diversion on the side of Hungary. But those who could concur in nothing else, were unanimous in rejecting this plan; to which the sentiments of the pope did not a little contribute, who was against dividing the forces of the league ¹. On the other hand, the emperor of the Ottomans gave the command of his fleet to Ulücciali, one of the ablest officers in his service, who with incredible diligence assembled a greater naval force than could well be imagined. He dispatched likewise an ambassador to Charles the Ninth of France, to dissuade him from entering into the holy league, and this not without effect ². The death of pope Pius the Fifth was another unlucky incident, because the princes of his communion looked upon him as a saint ³. He was succeeded by cardinal Buoncompagno, who assumed the name of Gregory the Thirteenth ⁴. The allies were very apprehensive, that, fresh troubles breaking out in the Low Countries, his catholic majesty would quit the league, from which he received little benefit. The king, however, assured them he had no such intentions, and ordered Don Juan of Austria to take the command of the confederate fleet. That prince went accordingly to Italy, where he had an interview with the princess Margaret his sister, whom he had never seen before ⁵. He then proceeded to Naples, and, as soon as the fleet of the allies assembled, he went and took the command. His active spirit led him immediately in search of the Turkish fleet; Ulücciali, who was much inferior in strength, advanced to meet him, but, like a great seaman, often offered him battle, and as often avoided fighting. At length Don Juan blocked him up in the port of Mûdôn, where he would have attacked him, but most of the other generals said it was impracticable, as his fleet was protected by a good fortrefs, and many batteries along the coast. Don Juan re-

The next campaign proves fruitless, though highly honourable to Don Juan.

A.D. 1572.

¹ Lorenzo Vander Hammen.

² P. Daniel, Cabrera.

³ Antonio de Fuenmayor, Vie du Pape Pie V. par Jean Bapt. Feuillet.

⁴ Illescas,

⁵ Lorenzo Vander Hammen.

plied,

plied, that when they were once engaged, the cannon on shore must cease firing, or do as much mischief to their friends as to their foes; but the other generals persisting in their opinion, the fleet retired, after having performed little or nothing; but Don Juan's character was as much raised by the proposition he made in this, as by the victory he gained the year before ^d. At this juncture the king lost his great favourite, and his principal minister. The first was Ruy Gomez de Silva, prince of Eboli ^e, singular in this particular, that, during the king's whole reign, he had remained equally possessed of his good graces, and died as much regretted by the people as by his master; the other was cardinal Espinosa ^f, of whom his master Philip said, long after he was dead, that he was the greatest minister Spain ever could boast; and yet Spain had produced Cardinal Ximenes, who had possessed his master's confidence long after he lost his affections.

A.D. 1573.

He forms a project of becoming king of Tunis, by the mediation of the pope.

Don Juan of Austria, in obedience to the king's orders, had employed infinite care and diligence in augmenting, repairing, and equipping his fleet, that, in conjunction with the allies, he might put to sea in the month of April, fully determined to proceed through the Archipelago, and put an end to the naval power of the Turks for a century at least; but when he thought himself in a condition to execute this project, he received the surprising news, that the Venetians had made their peace with the Turks; upon which he caused the colours of the league to be struck, and hoisted the banner of Spain ^g. The king either was not, or did not seem much displeased. He removed Juan de Soto, who was secretary to his brother, and made him intendant of the fleet, on account of his advising his master to think of doing something for himself, and of acquiring an independent sovereignty at the expence of the infidels. Juan de Escovado succeeded him as secretary to the prince; and the king, who bestowed upon him several favours, told him plainly the reasons for which he had removed his predecessor ^h. He afterwards sent orders to Don Juan to reduce Tunis, and to demolish it. The season was very late before this order could be put in execution, but it was executed by the bare appearance of the fleet, for the Turks abandoned it. The prince, contrary to Don Philip's order, fortified the town, and marked out a new citadel, capable of holding eight thousand men; and afterwards, by

^d Cabrera.
renzo Vander Hammen.

^e Erreras.

^f Herrera.
^h Ferreras.

^g Lopez.

the advice of both his secretaries, engaged the pope to propose to his brother declaring him king of Tunis. To this proposal Don Philip answered, that the respect as well as affection he had for his brother would not permit him to grant that request, as he knew the grand signor meditated the recovery of all the places held by the Christians in Africa; and that, in its proper season, he would explain himself to his brother's satisfaction ^l. This year the royal family was increased by the birth of the infant Don Carlos; soon after which died the infanta Donna Joanna, the king's sister ^k. This year also he removed to the escorial the bodies of his queen Donna Isabella and of the prince Don Carlos, as also those of the emperor Charles the Fifth, of the empress, of Donna Leonora queen of Portugal and France, of his brothers and sisters, and of his aunt Donna Maria queen of Hungary; at the same time he caused the body of his grandmother Donna Joanna to be transferred to Granada, and interred there near the bodies of Ferdinand and Isabella ^l.

This year opened with a scene which never would have happened if the king had not lost the cardinal his minister. The wars in which he had been so long involved in the Low Countries, and in the defence of Italy, and the places he possessed in Africa against the Turks, had constrained him to borrow money upon his revenues, from those in other countries, as well as the bankers in his own dominions, for which they had assignments. To supply his present necessities, he had recourse to the states, and they advised him to supersede those assignments; and to deduct, after liquidating his creditors demands, what he judged reasonable in regard to usury and exchange. His own subjects thought this measure hard; but those who durst call things by their proper names said, that he had declared himself a bankrupt. In consideration of this shameful expedient, the states gave him another tenth of the Alcavala; and thus, for a small temporary advantage, he lost his credit for ever ^m. The apprehension of the Turkish fleet was the great motive to this measure, of which the king gave notice to cardinal Granvelle, viceroy of Naples; to the duke of Terra Nova, who had the government of Sicily; and to Don Juan of Austria, who was then in Italy; with express orders to provide in time for the safety of the Goletta and of Tunis. Don Juan did all in his power; but the viceroys were so much concern-

A.D. 1574.

All those places, of which his kingdom was to be formed, conquered by the Turks.

^l Herrera.

^k Campana.

^l Sicuena.

^m Cabrera.

ed for the provinces under their government, that they did not exert themselves in due time. The consequence was, that Sinan basha, who commanded the Turkish fleet, landed forty thousand men without opposition; upon which the Christians abandoned Tunis, and retired into the new fort. Sinan, leaving the command of the fleet to Ulucciali, invested both that and the Goletta at the same time; the former was carried by assault; and Don Pedro Porto-carrero, with the small remains of his garrison, carried into slavery. The new fort had the same fate not long after; so that the Spaniards lost all they had been so long acquiring, and at least twelve thousand good troops. The king sent prince Vespasian Gonzaga to examine the state of things at Oran, who, finding them in disorder, fortified Mazalquivir, and abandoned the place before-mentioned. Don Juan of Austria, who was hindered by the bad weather from going in person to the relief of the fortresses in Africa, was exceedingly chagrined at their loss; but the king bore it with great temper, and laid no blame either upon Don Juan, or the people who commanded.

A.D. 1575.

Don Juan of Austria forms, notwithstanding, new pretensions on his brother.

The death of the Turkish emperor Selim gave some hopes that the war would not be continued with the same vivacity; but these were quickly dashed by the news that a numerous fleet was equipping at Constantinople. Don Juan of Austria, who was then at Genoa, pressed the king so warmly for leave to return to Spain, that he obtained it. His business was to solicit two requests; the first was, to be declared infant of Castile; and the other, to be created lieutenant-general of Italy. After mature deliberation, the king refused the first, because there was no precedent of any such thing; and declined the latter, by telling him his presence was necessary in Italy, and that he would send full powers after him. The Turkish fleet made an attempt upon Calabria; but were so roughly handled, that they thought proper to return to Constantinople. This year was fatal to the infant Don Carlos; but the queen was delivered on the 12th of July, which was three days after, of the infant Don Diego.

In the spring of the year died Don Lewis de Requesens, who had succeeded the duke of Alba in the government of the Low Countries, and the king immediately resolved to send Don Juan of Austria thither. Don Juan, who knew very well that both money and troops were wanting,

• Lorenzo Vander Hammen. • Cabrera. • Herrera.

sent

A.D. 1576.

*The king
sends him
into the
Low
Countries
with dis-
cretionary
powers
there.*

sent Escovado his secretary to court, who presented so many and such sharp memorials, that the king directed Antonio Perez, who was secretary of state, to tell him, that he would not be importuned, and that he should learn to write in a more becoming style⁹. Don Juan, perplexed with this delay, embarked at Genoa, and landed at Barcelona, of which he gave the king notice, who, to avoid receiving him as an infant of Castile, which he knew that prince expected, retired to the escorial, and sent for him thither. At his audience, he would have kissed the king's hand; but Don Philip, rising from his seat, threw his arms round his neck, and embraced him. He then kissed the queen's; and, in paying the same respect to the infant Don Ferdinand, he rased his forehead with the pommel of his sword. The child cried out violently; upon which the king took him into his hands, and said to Don Juan, "God be praised, it is only a scratch." "So much the better (replied Don Juan); for, if it had been ever so dangerous, here is no window out of which I could have thrown myself." "Brother (added the king, coldly) more or less dangerous would not have altered the case, for it would have been still an accident, and accidents are not in our power^r." The king held several councils, to which the duke of Alba, the marquis de los Velos, and the secretary Perez, were called; and the result was, that the king left every thing to his brother's discretion, except the point of liberty of conscience, which he absolutely refused to grant. As so much time had been lost, the king enjoined him to pass through France in disguise, which he did in quality of domestic to Octavio Gonzaga, and arrived safely at Luxemburgh^s. Muley Mohammed, who had been expelled the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco by his brother, solicited Don Philip to restore him by force of arms; but the king, grown weary of African expeditions, declined the enterprize. He then applied to his nephew Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, who sent one of his ministers to solicit the assistance of Don Philip in this enterprize, and to demand one of his daughters in marriage. The king answered, that the infantas were too young; and that if his nephew, under the appearance of devotion, would come to our lady of Guadalupe, he would meet him there. He went accordingly, and the duke of Alba had a share in the conference. The king and the duke laboured to dissuade Don Sebastian from the war, by

⁹ Ferreras.

^r Cabrera.

^s Vander Hammen.

shewing

shewing him how great an army was necessary to do any thing in Africa, how impossible it was to subsist such an army, and how little he could rely upon the promises of a Moor. These remonstrances were vain; and the king was at last forced to promise his nephew, that he would furnish him with fifty galleys, and five thousand men, provided the Turk had no fleet at sea^t. This year died at Rome the unfortunate doctor Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, after being obliged to abjure certain doctrines, which he affirmed, in the most solemn manner, when he was dying, he had never supported or believed. His persecution is said to have been owing to the envy of a great prelate, who had passionately sought what without desiring Carranza obtained. In Spain some had still their doubts about him, but at Rome he was unanimously regarded as a saint^u.

A.D. 1557.

*Don Philip
makes
peace with
the emperor
of Fez and
Morocco.*

The king Don Philip, in order to be better informed of the state of affairs in Morocco, sent over Francisco Aldana, who had been long a prisoner in that country, and was well acquainted with Muley Moloch. He was extremely well received by that king, and, after he had remained there some time, was kindly dismissed. At his return, he assured his catholic majesty, that Muley Moloch had a great body of Turks about his person, was well provided with artillery, and could raise a numerous army without difficulty; upon which he was sent to make the like report to Don Sebastian, though it proved to no purpose. The king procured for his brother-in-law, the archduke Albert, a hat from Rome, and the grand-cross of Malta for the archduke Wenceslaus, with one of the richest commanderies that order had in his kingdom. The news brought him by captain Aldana made him very apprehensive that the Turks might seize the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco; and as he by no means desired such neighbours, he caused it to be intimated to Muley Moloch, that he was well disposed to give him assistance. That monarch, who needed, immediately solicited his friendship; so that an alliance was quickly concluded, and, by the interposition of the Venetians, the king made a truce with the Turks for three years. In consequence of these measures, he sent the duke of Medina Cœli, in the winter, to dissuade Don Sebastian from attempting the war in Africa, but without any effect^v.

^t Epitome de la Vida y Hechos de D. Sebastian, Rey de Portugal, por Juan de Baena. ^u Illesgas. ^v Cabrera.

In the spring of the year the king was informed of the arrival of the archduke Matthias, whom the confederates had invited into the Low Countries, and whom they acknowledged as their governor^a. On the last day of March, Juan de Escovedo, secretary to the prince Don Juan of Austria, was assassinated in the streets^y. The general opinion was, that he was in the secret of his master's intention to espouse queen Elizabeth of England, and that this confidence induced the king to order him to be put to death: but it is very certain that he was murdered by the express direction of the secretary Antonio Perez, who gave out to those he employed, that it was for his majesty's service; and that he procured for them, by way of reward, commands in the army in Italy. It is also certain, that Perez had twice attempted to poison him before, once at his house, to which he invited him for that purpose, and another time by procuring poison to be put into his victuals at home, which he escaped by accidentally dining abroad, and of which his wife had like to have died; and on this account a poor slave was unjustly put to death^z. This assassination made a great noise at the time, and was attended, as such actions always are, with very fatal consequences. On the 4th of April, the queen was delivered of the infant Don Philip, who succeeded his father^a. On the 7th of October died Don Juan of Austria of a malignant fever^b, as some say, but, as others assert, not without a great suspicion of poison. On the 18th of the same month died the prince Don Ferdinand, at the age of sixteen, to the inexpressible grief of his parents; and on the 24th died the archduke Wenceslaus^c. This year was also fatal to the unfortunate Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, who perished in his rash expedition into Africa^d, as we shall have occasion to shew at large in its proper place; and as soon as the news of it arrived at Madrid, the king sent orders to cover the places which the Portuguese possessed in that country.

The cardinal Don Henry having assumed the regal dignity in Portugal immediately after the death of Don Sebastian was known, felt very early the cares of a crown; for, on the one side, he was solicited by the people to marry, that the independency of Portugal might be preserved; and, on the other, he was pressed by the ambas-

A.D. 1578.

Don Juan of Austria dies in the Low Countries, not without suspicion of poison.

Antonio Perez, secretary of state, and the prince of Eboli, disgraced and imprisoned.

^a Emanuel Meteren. ^y Vander Hammen: ^z Herrera.
^a Campana. ^b Antonio Carnero. ^c Cabrera. ^d Faria y Sousa.

sadors of Don Philip to regulate and declare the succession. His catholic majesty, who had not the least scruple about his own right, sent a friar to persuade the king of Portugal, that, being a priest, a bishop, and a cardinal, he could not in conscience, or with any degree of decency, marry, more especially at his time of life. He likewise applied to the pope to prevent any dispensation from being obtained for that purpose; alleging the great scandal that would attend it, and what advantages would be taken

A.D. 1579. of such a step by heretics. The king, Don Henry, who, though no great politician, was an honest, pious, and just man, was absolutely deaf to these insinuations. At Rome they opened but one ear to his catholic majesty, and, at the same time, extended one hand, reserving as much for the king of Portugal, that, in so important a business, something might be heard and felt on both sides^c. The new emperor of Morocco and Fez perceiving how much it was his interest to be well with the king of Castile, sent over one Andrew Gasparo, a Corsican, who negotiated a peace for twenty years between the two crowns; in consideration of which, and of the assistance promised by Don Philip, in case of any foreign invasion or domestic trouble, he yielded to him the town of Larach for their mutual conveniency; rejecting the large offers that were made for the ransom of the duke of Barcelos, son to the duke of Braganza, and nephew to the king of Portugal, he made a present of him to king Philip, and sent him to the house of Don Pedro de Vinegas, his ambassador^f. The council of Castile advised the king to detain him as an honourable prisoner, whom he might otherwise find the most formidable competitor to the crown of Portugal; but Don Philip, with great magnanimity and prudence, rejected their advice, and bound him in stronger chains, by ordering him to be set at liberty, and sent home with all possible marks of kindness and respect^g. The king caused the body of his brother, Don Juan of Austria, to be brought privately into Spain; then to be removed publicly, and with great funeral pomp, to the Escorial, and, according to the dying request of that prince, it was there interred, on the 24th of May, close by that of his father the emperor Charles the Fifth^h. On the 29th of July, Antonio Perez, secretary of state, was arrested, and sent to prison, upon some discoveries that were made of the murder of Don Juan's se-

^c Illescas.^h Siguenca.^f Hieron de Mendoza.^g Faria y Sousa.

cretary; and the princess of Eboli was at the same time confined for having too great an influence over Perez, by which she had drawn from him some secrets of state^l. Some time after the secretary, falling sick, had leave to return to his own house, where he was visited by the king's confessor; upon which, and his not being removed from his office, the world, always busy in criticising the actions of princes, made some very strange conclusions^k.

Don Henry of Portugal, who, though not a great, was a very good prince, declared, that, as to the succession, the king, Don Philip, and the duke of Braganza in right of his wife, were the two competitors, and the only two whose rights would admit of a discussion; for, as to Don Antonio, prior of Crato, though he had the greatest credit with the populace, yet he esteemed and adjudged him a bastard. He appointed five commissioners to hear and determine the affair of the succession, and in this disposition died, on the last of January. Upon this event the five commissioners assumed the government with the title of regents; and though they did all that was possible to keep the people within bounds, yet their aversion to the Castilians was so strong, that Don Philip's ambassadors could not have been safe, if the duke of Braganza, with great generosity, had not received them into his palace^l. The king of Spain, though he was secure of three of the regents, never intended that his title should be regulated by their judgment; but, having taken his measures from the very death of his nephew, had an army and a fleet ready to put him in possession of that kingdom. He resolved to put at the head of his forces the best officer in his dominions, which was the duke of Alba, old, in disgrace, and at that time a prisoner; the reason of which was this: his eldest son, Don Garcia de Toledo had given a promise to one of the queen's ladies of honour, which he refused to make good; upon which the king caused him to be arrested and sent to Tordeillas. His father the duke took him from thence by force, carried him to his own castle of Alba, and there married him to his cousin Donna Maria de Toledo, daughter to the marquis of Villena. The king could not but punish this offence, though perhaps he did not highly resent it. However it was, upon the death of the king of Portugal he sent to know of the duke, if his health would permit him to command an

A.D. 1580:

The duke of Alba drives out Don Antonio, and conquers the kingdom of Portugal.

^l Cabrera.

^k Mayerne, Turquet.

^l Faria y Sousa.

army; who replied, that his strength and abilities, such as they were, should be always devoted to his service. The king then sent him directions to come to some place near Madrid, where he might receive his orders, and he accordingly came to Barajos, where they were sent him, without his seeing the king at all^m. As soon as the Spanish troops entered Portugal, the populace proclaimed Don Antonio king, first at Santaren, and then at Lisbon; notwithstanding which the duke of Alba reduced the kingdom without much trouble, after having defeated Don Antonio in two battlesⁿ. The king, in the mean time, causing the prince Don Diego to be acknowledged his successor by the nobility, advanced to Badajoz, where he fell ill towards the end of September, and was hardly out of danger before the queen, whom he had sent for thither, was seized with a violent fever, of which she died on the 26th of October, in the thirty-first year of her age, exceedingly regretted by the king and by his subjects^o.

Don Philip goes in person into Portugal, and is acknowledged by the States,

The king, at the request of the duke of Alba, entered Portugal in the spring, and opened the assembly of the states at the convent of Tomar, where the nobility, clergy, and deputies from the cities, did homage and swore allegiance; the duke of Braganza and his son the duke of Barcelos being the first who took the oaths. The king then granted a general pardon, excepting to Don Antonio, and fifty-two others, who were named; he bestowed likewise many favours upon the nobility, who remained, notwithstanding, discontented, and if we may trust some of the Spanish historians, the revenues of Portugal would not have satisfied their expectations^p. On the 29th of June he made his public entry into Lisbon, where, not long after, the fleet from the Indies arrived, which gave him great satisfaction, more especially as he understood that he had been acknowledged and proclaimed there; consequently, by the end of the year, he was entirely master of the kingdom of Portugal, the islands of Azores only excepted^q. As for the unfortunate Don Antonio, he remained disguised and concealed in the kingdom till towards winter, and then found a passage to England, where he was kindly received and protected by queen Elizabeth^r.

^m Cabrera, pana.

ⁿ Viperanus. Faria y Sousa.

^o Siguenca. ^p Camden's Annals.

*Becomes
very un-
easy there,
and finds it
impossible to
render
himself be-
loved.*

The king, having spent the winter in Lisbon, found himself, at the beginning of the new year, in greater perils and perplexities than ever he was in his life; persecuted with numberless demands, which it was impossible for him to grant; and which, if he denied, would infallibly increase that discontent which was too great and dangerous already. He had sent for his sister, the empress Donna Maria, upon the death of his queen, to take care of his children: and, not finding him at Madrid, she came to Lisbon. The king received her with all possible respect and kindness, and had some thoughts of making her regent of that kingdom; but he soon laid that design aside, to prevent the disputes that must have arisen with another lady, who had appointed herself regent. This was the duchess of Braganza. The king had in general promised to comply with her demands; but when she came to make them, he did not think himself obliged to keep his word. She expected to be made regent, to have a great number of towns given her in property, and to have all her debts paid, with some other things of less consequence. In this embarrassed condition the king first sent away his sister, and then took the report of five Portuguese commissioners, whom he had appointed to consider of the duchess's demands; who said, that if his majesty gave her seven hundred and fifty thousand ducats to pay her debts, she ought to esteem it a great favour, as well as a full satisfaction. Don Antonio, by the assistance of the queen-mother of France, and other princes who pitied his condition, equipped a fleet of sixty sail, with a considerable body of forces on board, with which he proposed to go to the Azores. In their passage, or rather as they were on the point of entering into port, they were attacked by the marquis de Santa Cruz, with a Spanish squadron under his command, and totally defeated. In this battle three hundred persons were taken prisoners, amongst whom were thirty noblemen and fifty gentlemen. They produced French commissions, and expected to be treated as prisoners of war; but the marquis finding by papers that their chief aim was to intercept the fleet from the Indies, insisted, there was no war between the crowns of France and Castile, treated them all as pirates, beheaded the gentlemen, and hanged the rest without mercy. On the 21st of November died the prince Don Diego, to the great grief of the whole Spanish monarchy, as well as of his father, who, though he was esteemed the greatest master of dissimula-

A.D. 1582.

• Conestaggio.

• Siguencia.

E c 2

tion

tion of any prince of his time, and made his utmost efforts to appear calm and easy amongst his new subjects, found it impossible to conceal the anxiety that this and other untoward accidents gave him; more especially when he found that all his efforts to gain the affections of the Portuguese were fruitless and ineffectual. In this year pope Gregory the Thirteenth made that famous alteration in the calendar which produced the distinction of old style and new: though it was perhaps not well understood, and withal very little pleasing to the Castilians, the king caused it to be observed and brought into use through all the countries under his dominion, as in such cases he piqued himself extremely upon shewing his respect and submission to the see of Rome^u.

Returns into Spain, and marries the infanta Catalina to the duke of Savoy.

It is no great wonder, if, in this situation of things, the king grew weary of his residence at Lisbon, where, when he had caused his son, the infant Don Philip, to be acknowledged and sworn to as successor, and had directed the bodies of the two last kings Sebastian and Henry, together with the remains of twenty other persons of the royal family, to be transferred to the chapel of Belem, he made preparations for his departure; at which time the duke of Alba being sick, he visited him with all the kindness of a friend, and shewed great concern for his death. On his leaving Portugal, he appointed the cardinal archduke Albert regent, and brought many of the Portuguese nobility with him to the Escorial, where, to his great satisfaction, he found most of those things executed which he had directed, and seemed to please himself with the hopes of repose, when in truth the busiest and least agreeable part of his life was yet to come^v. He was desirous, however, of reducing the Azores islands, and sent the marquis de Santa Cruz with a fleet for that purpose, which service he performed with great success; but it would have turned more to his reputation, if it had been attended with less bloodshed; but the adherents to Don Antonio in those islands had given great provocation; the marquis was naturally severe, and the executions that followed upon their reduction were numerous and cruel^x.

A.D. 1583.

A.D. 1584.

There happened nothing of great importance in the succeeding year, except the assembly of the states of Castile and Leon at Madrid, for acknowledging the infant Don Philip, and the conclusion of a marriage between the duke of Savoy and the infanta Donna Catalina; to which the

^u Illescas.

^v Faria y Sousa.

^x Ant. Herrera.

king consented, upon condition that the duke should come in person to espouse her ^y.

In the beginning of the year the gallies of Spain were sent to bring that prince; the king with the whole court, went into Arragon, where at Saragossa the marriage was consummated in the month of February, and in June the king accompanied his son-in-law to Barcelona, where he embarked for his own dominions ^z. He went afterwards to hold the states of Catalonia, Arragon, and Valencia, at Moncon, in order to have the prince acknowledged by them, where, as things went not altogether to his mind, he fell sick; upon his recovery, he dissolved the states, though his affairs obliged him to remain at Valencia the remainder of the year, where he received the ambassadors of some princes of Japan, who afterwards went to Rome, to pay obedience in the name of their masters to the pope ^a. In the succeeding year, finding himself, as his own historians say, deeply touched in his honour by the depredations committed in Europe and America by the English, he entertained a project of making queen Elizabeth feel the whole weight of his resentment. Some say he was excited to this enterprize by the prince of Parma; and that, after he had begun his preparations, he was dissuaded from pursuing them by the same prince, who, upon mature deliberation, foresaw the difficulties that would attend such an enterprize, and concluded it impracticable. It is much more probable that he was encouraged to it by the popish fugitives from England, men of a violent and implacable spirit, who, under the veil of religion, sought to vent their own passion and resentment; and that he was farther importuned to it by pope Sixtus the Fifth is very certain. Besides, sir Francis Drake had burnt several ships in the road of Cadiz, and had taken a very rich East Indiaman, named the St. Philip, a capture which provoked the king highly ^b. The Spanish writers say, that, notwithstanding this outrage, the prince of Parma prevailed upon him to consent to certain conferences for a peace in the Low Countries, which is out of doubt; but when they add, that the propositions of the English commissioners rendered them ineffectual, we have great reason to question their sincerity, since we know that those commissioners came into a great deal of trouble for their complaisance; and that, in the issue of this bu-

A.D. 1585.

Finds himself extremely incommoded by the power and policy of the queen of England.

A.D. 1586.

^y Campana. ^z Ferreras. ^a Cabrera. ^b Luis de Bavia, Historia Pontifical.

A.D. 1587.

siness, these pacific propositions appeared to be no more than a Spanish amusement. The truth seems to be, that the king had lost his old able ministers; and that his councils were chiefly governed by cardinal Granvelle, who did not live, however, to see the mischiefs and misfortunes they produced^c.

Resolves to employ the whole force of his dominions in humbling that prince.

The king, bent upon the execution of this expedition, issued his orders for assembling the whole maritime force of his vast dominions, and ordered all the fleet to assemble as early as it was possible at Lisbon; while the prince of Parma had instructions to provide in the Low Countries the greatest force he was able, both by sea and land, for effecting and covering a descent. The steadiness of the king, in pursuing whatever resolution he had once taken, joined to the high opinion the Spaniards had of the invincible force of their maritime power, which, at that time, was certainly the greatest in Europe, and the zeal, not to say fury, of the catholics, to pull down a princess whom they considered as the protectress of heretics, animated all the

A D 1588.

preparations for this extraordinary design, for the execution of which the king spared no expence; so that, as Don Bernard de Mendoza (and none knew better) told the president de Thou, it cost the king upwards of thirty-six million of pieces of eight by that time the fleet was assembled at Lisbon. This invincible armada, as it was styled, consisted, according to the Spanish accounts, of one hundred and thirty ships of war and galleys, having on board upwards of twenty thousand land troops, and eight thousand two hundred and fifty seamen, besides slaves at the oar. When things were almost ready, the marquis de Santa Cruz, who was to have commanded the armament, died, and the king appointed the duke de Medina Sidonia to succeed him, who would willingly have excused himself, as being conscious of his want of skill in maritime affairs, and was afraid of the king's displeasure. He sailed from Lisbon the 27th of May; but, meeting with very bad weather, was obliged to put into the port of Corunna, where he remained some time, and came in sight of the coast of England on the last of July. They were from that time harrassed by the English fleet, composed of small light ships, which had great advantage over them in the English channel, and being commanded by the ablest seamen of that age, pushed their advantage to the utmost. The weather was also favourable to them, and destructive to the Spaniards. The prince of Parma

was in the middle of his preparations, and in no condition to execute any thing; so that, after suffering much, and seeing no hopes of executing their enterprize, the duke de Medina Sidonia, and the rest of the Spanish commanders, from meditating a conquest, were brought to study how to escape; and in this scheme they were no less unfortunate, as being in the midst of their enemies, and but very indifferently skilled in navigating those seas. They quickly found it was impossible to retire through the English channel, and were therefore forced to sail northward, along the coast of Scotland, beaten all the way by furious tempests. Twelve large ships ran upon the coast of England, some were also lost upon the west of Scotland, some were driven to Denmark, and some to Ireland. The duke de Medina Sidonia, with the few ships that remained, at last put into St. Andero. The Spaniards compute their loss at thirty-two large ships and ten thousand men, but it was certainly much greater; Mariana says truly, that it ruined their marine, and that the best part of their old troops and most experienced seamen perished in this fatal expedition, which, as in the beginning it was intended to crush England, so in its conclusion it proved the heaviest blow that Spain had ever felt since she became a maritime power^d. Some great historians, and amongst them Mr. de Thou, say, the king was so much chagrined, that he would not permit the duke of Medina Sidonia to come to court; but in reality the duke himself declined it, and went to his own house, full of sorrow and regret. But the king issued his orders for relieving all the poor people that returned, and wrote the duke a very kind letter, in which he thanked him for his services, expressed a great concern for the miseries he had endured, and told him, that, in things depending upon the elements, the fault was never to be imputed to men. This letter, as it deserves, is extant, and shews, that whatever passed in his mind, Philip knew how to conceal all his passion^e.

The dismal catastrophe of his invincible armada, by which his naval power was lost.

Next year the king found himself in a new situation, which he little expected. Don Antonio, who styled himself king of Portugal, having prevailed upon queen Elizabeth to assist him with a numerous fleet and a powerful army, the former commanded by sir Francis Drake, and the latter by general Norris, arrived on the coasts of Spain in the spring, where they sacked Corunna, and did

Spain and Portugal in great danger by an invasion from England.

^d Campana.

^e Antonio Herrera.

A.D. 1589.

a great deal of mischief, which, how much soever it chagrined the Spaniards, in reality undid themselves^f; for Don Philip immediately sent express after express to the archduke Albert, to provide for the security of Portugal; which would have been out of his power, if they had sailed directly to Lisbon, where they did not arrive till the 1st of June. Don Antonio had promised, that his countrymen would rise unanimously in his favour, in which no doubt he went too far; but the bulk of the nation were certainly so inclined, and it was owing to the precautions taken by the archduke that they became masters of the suburbs only, and not of the capital, where, however, it was as much as he could do to restrain the populace from a general insurrection; and, if there had not been a misunderstanding, or at least a want of right intelligence, between the English admiral and general, Don Antonio might have succeeded in his enterprize, or at least have given rise to a long war. But sir Francis Drake not bringing the English fleet up the Tagus, and the cardinal archduke having burnt all the magazines of provisions without the town, general Norris was obliged to decamp on the 4th for want of provisions. In his retreat, he took the fortress of Cascaes, which was ruined and blown up at his departure; and the English fleet made prizes of a great number of ships, after which they embarked their forces, and returned^g. Though this insult was considered as a high dishonour in Spain, yet in reality the loss was very inconsiderable, in comparison of what it might have been; and it so effectually opened the king's eyes, that he studied from this time to suit his councils to his circumstances, and to consider of the properest ways and means to put his own dominions in a state of defence against enemies whom he found to be far more formidable than he had ever imagined.

The civil war in France becomes a great object of Don Philip's politics.

The civil war in France occupied in a great measure the thoughts of Don Philip, at a time when the situation of his own affairs seemed to demand his whole attention, as the necessities of the state required the whole forces of his vast dominions in Europe and elsewhere. Perhaps he looked on the troubles of France as very favourable to his own safety and power; but it is most probable that he had still greater things in view; that, if he could procure for himself the administration of that kingdom, under the title of protector of France, he thought it not impractica-

^f Faria y Sousa.^g Cabrera.

ble to obtain the possession of it for his favourite daughter the infant Donna Isabella Clara Eugenia, who it was once proposed should espouse the young duke of Guise ; but, whatever his motives were, his conduct plainly shewed, that he meant to frustrate the pretensions of Henry the Fourth, styled in Spain the prince of Bearn, to the crown of France ; and to the desire of doing this, he sacrificed interests that much more nearly concerned him : for, not content with sending a great corps of Spanish troops to the duke de Mayenne, which weakened his own army in the Low Countries, he sent express orders to the prince of Parma to relieve Paris ; a service which he performed with great reputation to himself, but with irreparable loss to the concerns of Spain in the Netherlands. His expence in support of the French rebels in their own country and at Rome was immense, at the same time that his own affairs every where suffered for want of money ; and, while he meditated the destruction of other powers, the very means he employed for that purpose exhausted his own ^b.

We have before mentioned the disgrace and imprisonment of Antonio Perez, the king's secretary of state, who, in consequence of his being charged with various crimes, had been sentenced to a fine and imprisonment ; and afterwards the old prosecution, for being concerned in the murder of Escovado, being revived, though he had compounded it with the son of the deceased, by giving him a large sum of money, he was tortured to make a confession, and prosecuted afresh upon that confession. This prosecution, though he was a man of very quick parts, drove him to the very extent of them ; so that, being a native of the kingdom of Arragon, he contrived to make his escape thither, in order to shelter himself under the privileges of that kingdom, which, not without great difficulty, he effected. Being again apprehended by the king's orders, upon his appeal to the chief justice, he was carried to Saragossa, and thrown into the prison belonging to that tribunal, of which the justice of Arragon was the chief. But as all proceedings before them were in public, and in a clear and open manner, that by no means answered the intention of his enemies, who made use of the royal authority, as if the king was of that number, they therefore caused it to be suggested to the inquisition, that Perez intended, as soon as he should be acquitted by the tribunal

Antonio Perez tortured on account of the business of Escovado's murder, and his escape.

^b Ant. Herrera, Bavia, Historia y Pontifical, Histoire de la Ligue, par Louis Maimbourg.

of the chief justice, to retire into Bearn, and put himself under the protection of queen Catherine of Navarre, mother of Henry IV. of France; and if he did not like that country, to withdraw into Holland or England. It was clearly computed from hence, that a man who placed his hopes in heretics (though he could hope protection from none else) could never be in his heart a good catholic. To fish out, therefore, this latent heresy, the inquisitors thought fit to transfer him to their prison without the city of Saragossa. This measure produced a revolt, which the bishop of Tervel, who was then viceroy, quieted, by taking Perez out of the prison of the inquisition, and sending him back to the prison of the chief justice; but the marquis of Almenara, the king's minister, was so rudely handled by the populace, that he died.

*Delivered
by the people of Arragon,
which draws on
them the
king's indignation.*

The inquisitors, having engaged all their friends to support them, constrained the viceroy to deliver up the prisoner to them again; and, having assembled about two thousand foot, to cover their great enterprize, they attempted to carry it into execution, which attempt excited a fresh insurrection, and in this there perished about one hundred persons, some of them gentlemen. However, as the soldiers could not be brought to act against their countrymen, or rather against their country, the people prevailed, and set Antonio Perez at liberty, who very prudently withdrew into Bearn¹. In the midst of these disputes, the chief justice of Arragon, Don Juan de Lanuza, died, and was succeeded in that high office by his son. The people, upon certain intelligence that Don Alonso Vargas, with a body of six thousand men, was advancing, by the king's command, in order to punish this opposition to his will, insisted upon assembling an army for protecting the liberties of Arragon, and obliged the young chief justice to issue commissions for that purpose; but most of the nobility, being become dependent upon the court, or willing to obtain favours by sacrificing that constitution which had made them great, either acted against the commons, or affected to appear neuter. The chief justice himself would have retired, if the people, who suspected it, had not restrained him. Don Alonso Vargas,

¹ Obras, Relaciones, et Cartas, d'Antonio Perez, Memoires Historiques, Politiques, Critiques, et Literaires, par Amelot de la Houssaye, History of the sad Catastrophe of Antonio Perez, secretary of State to Philip II. king of Spain, by Michael Geddes.

who was himself an Arragoneſe, no ſooner appeared with his troops before Saragoſſa, than the magiſtrates went out to meet him, and, when he had taken poſſeſſion of the city, the chief juſtice, Don Juan de Lmuza, returned with the duke of Villa Hermoſa and the count de Aranda. Don Alonſo cauſed them all three to be arreſted, and, by the king's expreſs order under his hand, directed Don Juan's head to be cut off upon a ſcaffold the ſame day ^h. In the opinion of all ſenſible people, the blow that deprived him of life, extinguiſhed the liberties of Arragon. As to the other two noblemen, they died in ſeparate priſons, under proſecutions for high treaſon; but their heirs making it fully appear, that they only made uſe of that popularity which their great probity and unblemiſhed characters had given them to quiet the firſt commotions, and had no ſhare at all in the laſt, they were, by a ſolemn ſentence, declared loyal and faithful ſubjects ⁱ. This end had the troubles of Antonio Perez, who in a tedious exile, in which he was driven to great neceſſities, ſurvived his mother and moſt of his enemies (B).

A.D. 1597.

The

^h Geddes's *Miſcellaneous Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 398. Bourdeille, *Sieur de Brantome*, *Memoires des Grands Capitaines Etrangers*.
ⁱ Cabrera.

(B) We have ſaid ſo much in the text of Antonio Perez, and the fortunes and miſfortunes of that great miniſter are in general ſo well known, that we ſhall inſiſt here only on a few particular points that have hitherto in ſome meaſure eſcaped the public notice, and which, in conjunction with his own writings and the common hiſtories, will give the reader a true idea of the moſt ſingular character perhaps that the world ever ſaw. It is certain, that his intimacy with Donna Anna de Mendoza y la Cerda plunged them both into miſfortunes. This lady was princeſs of Eboli, equally remarkable for her accompliſhments and her paſſions. She had a high genius, lively wit, and exqui-

ſite beauty; ſhe was at the ſame time very ambitious and very gallant. The miſtreſs, as the world ſaid of Philip II. and the miſtreſs too, in the ſame authority may gain credit, of Antonio Perez. She is ſaid to have been in love with the power of the king, and the perſon of the ſecretary. The king's jealouſy had no ſhare in their diſgrace; the princeſs always retained a great power over that monarch, notwithſtanding ſhe always correſponded with, and affected great attachment to Perez, who, through his long exile, ſtill held a place in his maſter's eſteem. This appears in part from the king's will, but more clearly and with better evidence in the memorial which

Don

*Intrigues of
Don Philip
to disturb
the peace of
France,
and procure
the crown for
the infant.*

The king Don Philip was still very intent upon his projects in France; but finding it very difficult to supply the leaguers with money, in proportion either to their demands or to their wants, he formed a project, which shews his abilities as a politician. Pope Sextus V. had amassed prodigious sums of money, which he laid up in the castle of St. Angelo, under pretence of employing them, if it should be necessary, against the Infidels; but Don Philip suspected rather they were intended for the conquest of Naples. His immediate successor Urban VII. died so soon, that the king had it not in his power to practise upon him; but Gregory XIV. being raised to the pontifical throne, he ordered his ambassador to acquaint him how much it was in his will, and how little it was in his power, to support the holy league in France; and, as a proof of his sincerity, desired leave to sell some of the church-lands in Spain for so good a purpose. This sale,

Don Balthazar Zuniga drew up for the information of his nephew the Conde de Olivarez, in which he expressly affirms, that Perez was the faithful servant of the king, though disgraced, tortured, and banished, and kept his secret among his enemies, in spite of the threats, the arts, and the gifts, employed to extract it from him (1). He had a great affection for his wife, as appears from the elegant Latin epitaph he wrote for her; but he had his gallantries notwithstanding; and we are told, that Henry IV. of France hinted to him one day his surprize, that he should be so much the slave of a woman that had but one eye. Perez answered with emotion, "She set the world on fire with that; if she had preserved both, she would have consumed it." We are not at the bottom

of this history, which had a large share in his misfortune; he kept up his Spanish haughtiness in the midst of his wants, and would give the title of excellency only, not highness, to the count of Soissons, the duke of Guise, and other princes. Though he was a beggar, he was very intimate with queen Elizabeth's favourite the earl of Essex, and no less with M. de Villeroi, the French secretary of state, to whom those letters were addressed, which are intitled, To a Friend; but he quickly lost his credit with queen Elizabeth and Henry IV. and perhaps it would have been as well if he had not preserved it with their ministers. He died at Paris in 1611, in mean circumstances; for though he had many great qualities, he wanted economy (2).

(1) *Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne.* p. 257. *Anecdotes de Philippe II.* p. 153. *Vie d'Antoine Perez, Secrétaire & Favory, &c.*

(2) *Memoires Historiques, Critiques, Politiques, & Littéraires,* par Amelot de la Houssaye, tom. i. p. 242—262.

he knew the Spanish cardinals would labour to prevent; but that they might not seem to have less zeal for the church than their master, they suggested that the treasures laid up by pope Sixtus might as well be employed against heretics as against infidels; in which remonstrance they prevailed, and no less than three millions were this year issued for the service of the league ^k, which the Spanish faction in France placed to the account of king Philip, though not a penny of it came out of his pocket. But the duke of Mayenne, desirous of knowing what his Catholic majesty's sentiments really were, sent the president Janin to Madrid, to discover them, where he found the king so fully persuaded of his title to France, that in his discourse, he frequently made use of these terms, "My city of Paris, my town of Orleans, my port of Rouen;" expressions which by no means pleased that minister. At length he was plainly told, that the king looked upon the infanta Isabella as the heiress of France; that he was inclined to marry her to the archduke Ernest, and, in consideration of the zeal and fidelity of the Catholic league, in raising them to the throne, he was content to give them the Low Countries ^l. At this very juncture, the council of sixteen took upon them to offer the crown of France to the infanta, provided she espoused the young duke of Guise, who was just escaped out of prison. It was from these propositions, and the slender supply of ten thousand crowns a month, which the king promised the duke of Mayenne, that the president took occasion to make the best terms he could with Henry the Fourth ^m. The English had this year a fleet upon the coast of Spain, under the command of the earl of Cumberland, and another squadron under lord Thomas Howard at the Azores, which, but for the intelligence they received from the former, would have been surpris'd by Don Alonzo Bazan; who had the honour, however, of taking the Revenge, commanded by Sir Richard Grenville; the only ship of war the Spaniards took from queen Elizabeth. But this action saved the plate-fleet; the best part of which, however, together with the prize, perished by a storm in their return to Spain, where, notwithstanding, Don Alonso was received in triumph ⁿ.

^k Herrera, Bavia.

Matthieu.

^m Thuanus.

brera, Herrera, Ferrerao.

^l Histoire de France, par Pierre deⁿ Camden's Annals, Ca-

A new insurrection in Arragon, attended with fresh acts of severity.

Next year the unfortunate Arragoneſe, who had been obliged to take ſhelter in the principality of Bearn, believing that the ſeverities which had been exerciſed at Saragoſſa muſt have ſpread univerſal diſcontent through the kingdom of Arragon, they, with ſuch ſuccours as could be procured from the queen of Navarre, reſolved to make an irruption into that kingdom; in which poſſibly they might have met with ſome ſucceſs, if one of the queen's ladies of honour had not betrayed them to the viceroy Don Alonſo Vargas, who poſted troops there with ſuch propriety, that Don Martin de Lanuza, who commanded the refugees, was ſurpriſed and routed, almoſt as ſoon as he entered the kingdom. He himſelf had, however, the good fortune to eſcape; but Don Diego de Heredia, Don Francisco Ayerbe, Don Juan de Luna, and Don Diego Perez, were taken, and executed, together with numbers of an inferior rank; and an expedition that was made into Catalonia by the Bearnois was not more ſucceſſful. Don Philip, upon this occaſion, publiſhed an amneſty, in which, however, were excepted Antonio Perez, and twenty others by name, all who were in priſon, or under proſecution, and ſuch as might be objected to by the inquiſition. Upon which the Arragoneſe ſaid truly, that the king had ſent them a very handſome ſuit of cloaths, but that it would fit no body. Soon after, he convoked an aſſembly of the ſtates at Tarragona, which was held in his name by the archbiſhop of Saragoſſa, and which, when they had curtailed ſome of the privileges of the kingdom, and done other diſagreeable acts, the king meant to honour with his preſence. The houſhold of prince Philip being ſettled, the king, though ſomewhat indiſpoſed, ſet out for Navarre; but, in his route, was taken ſo ill at Eſtrella, that it was believed his life was in danger. He recovered, notwithſtanding, through the ſtrength of his conſtitution; and, as ſoon as he was able to bear the fatigue of travelling, proceeded with the prince to Pampeluna, where he was received with all apparent marks of joy, held an aſſembly of the ſtates, in which the prince Don Philip was acknowledged his heir apparent. Having left an able architect to finiſh the caſtle, he returned through Arragon, and was preſent at cloſing the aſſembly of the ſtates at Tarragona; where, upon his giving orders to Don Alonſo de Vargas to leave the kingdom with his troops, excepting only a de-

A.D. 1592.

• Mayerne, Turquet.

tachment

tachment that was to guard the inquisition, he obtained a free gift of seven hundred thousand livres, of that country money ^p.

His projects with regard to France were now at a crisis. He had a strong body of forces in Bretagne, and had directed the duke of Parma, who had gained so much reputation the year before, by raising the siege of Rouen, to enter France a third time, to countenance the general assembly that was to be held at Paris for the choice of a king. That nothing might be wanting to facilitate his design, he caused ingots of gold to be carried by land to Namur, to be coined there into a million and a half of ducats, the best part of which were to be distributed amongst the deputies to the assembly, where the duke of Feria was to assist in his name, and to demand the duchy of Bretagne for the infanta Isabella, to which he asserted her right was indisputable, since that duchy came to the crown of France by an heir female, whose immediate direct heiress was his deceased queen, and consequently his daughter by her. The duke was also to support the interests of the duke of Guise, who, in case he was elected king, was to marry the new duchess of Bretagne; but, previous to this measure, he was to use his utmost endeavours to procure the election of the infanta, and to consent to the other expedient only in case of necessity. These fine-spun schemes were broken by a variety of accidents. The duke of Parma died at Arras, where he was assembling his forces; upon which the troops mutinied, and a great part of them disbanded. The duke of Feria quarrelled with the duke of Mayenne; and the Spanish ministers were so scrupulous in parting with their money, that they were not able to carry any considerable point in the assembly; so that if the king persuaded himself, as some think he did, that his daughter would have been this year declared queen of France, he must have been much disappointed ^q. The Spanish historians tell us ^r, that Don Alonzo Bazan, with the gallies under his command, took several English ships that had made themselves masters of two of the plate fleet at the islands of the Azores; but an author of our own ^s, who was at that time in Spain, asserts, that Don Alonso might have done it, if he had followed the king's orders; but that, by pursuing his own notions, he failed, was disgraced for it, and never after recovered the king's favour.

The king insists upon the incontrovertible right of the infanta Donna Isabella.

^p Herrera. ^q P. Daniel. ^r Ferreras. ^s Sir William Monton's Naval Transactions.

*Manages
with great
address,
and obtains
a large free
gift from,
the states
of Arragon.*

A.D. 1593.

Don Philip employed a great part of the spring in taking the best measures possible for quieting the minds of the people of Arragon, and at the same time provided for the security of that kingdom, by disposing his troops in such a manner on the frontiers, as to put a speedy end to any commotion that might be excited, in hopes of abolishing the concessions made in the last assembly of the states, in prejudice to their old constitution. He sent likewise a squadron of ships from Biscay, to support the leaguers in Bretagne; in the prosecution of which enterprize they engaged some English ships, by which action both sides were losers; but the Spaniards carried their main point of preserving what they had acquired in that country^t. The king held a chapter of the order of the Golden Fleece, for the installation of his son the prince Don Philip, in which the collar was given to the duke of Infantado, the marquis de Villena, and Don Pedro de Medicis, a young Moorish prince, whose name was Muley, son to Muley Mohammed, the dethroned king of Fez and Morocco, who came privately to the king's court, and declared that he did it with a desire of becoming a Christian. After due precautions taken to be secure of his sincerity, he was baptized, and the king not only gave him appointments suitable to his birth, but also made him a knight of St. Jago, and grandee of Spain^u.

*Henry IV.
of France
becomes a
catholic,
which
breaks all
the plots of
Spain and
the league.*

Henry IV. of France, having declared himself a catholic, broke all the measures of the league, and brought over at once all who had any sincere inclinations to restore the peace, and revive the honour of their country. The catholic king, in a manner little suitable to his great prudence, persisted in the pursuit of those projects that were now become impracticable, and had so much influence at Rome as to engage pope Clement VIII. to delay the absolution which he had demanded by the duke de Nevers, and perhaps might have done more, if a French priest had not honestly and boldly said to that pontiff, "Holy father, your predecessor Clement VII. lost England by gratifying the emperor Charles V. have a care therefore that you do not lose France by pushing too far your complaisance for Philip II." This intimation, and other remonstrances, wrought upon the pope; but as for the king, though he might at that time have made very good terms with Henry, he continued obstinate in his own measures, and in lavishing vast sums to no purpose, while his affairs suffered at home and

^t Cabrera, Mezeray, P. Daniel.

^u Herrera.

abroad,

abroad, through the debts and difficulties that were by these means brought upon his administration ^w. In the Low Countries, the principal nobility refused to acknowledge the count de Fuentes, whom he had appointed their governor; so that the management of public affairs was left to count Peter Ernest de Mansfield, who had been appointed his deputy by the duke of Parma; and this visible declension of his grandeur on all sides, though it had no effect upon his behaviour, is thought to have affected the king's mind, and to have increased his infirmities ^x.

The friends of the Spaniards in France had prevailed upon the duke of Mayenne to remove the count de Belin from the post of governor of Paris, and to bestow it on the count de Brissac, whom they looked upon as an irreconcilable enemy to king Henry; and so, perhaps, he might have been, if they had not procured him this post, which enabled him to make his peace with his master, by putting the capital of his dominions into his possession. He managed this affair with such secrecy, that, while the army of France entered on one side of the city, the duke of Feria, with about four thousand Spanish troops, marched out of the other. There is no doubt that Henry might have attacked, and probably cut them to pieces; which, however, he was so far from attempting, that he sent them a safe-conduct, and offered them an escorte ^y. Don Philip, having sent his nephew the archduke Ernest, with the title of governor, into the Low Countries, the French king made him some propositions of peace; and, upon his declining them for want of proper powers, he sent an agent to Madrid with as little effect. Hostilities were still continued by the English at sea, and, by their assistance, the French were enabled to recover several places in Bretagne.

The city of Paris taken, and the duke of Feria, with the Spanish garrison, retires.

A.D. 1594.

To heighten the perplexities of Don Philip, a Turkish fleet, under the command of the basha Zigala, appeared very unexpectedly on the coast of Calabria, where they committed horrid outrages; and having acquired a vast booty, and a multitude of slaves, returned in triumph to Constantinople. This year died Don Gaspar de Quiroga, archbishop of Toledo, a person equally beloved and revered, who had opposed, as far as he was able, most of the measures that had brought the king into distress. He was a great economist, and died immensely rich, but without making any disposition of his effects, which were

A Turkish fleet, unexpectedly, ravages the coast of Calabria.

^w Cabrera.

^x Emanuel Meterin.

^y Mezeray.

therefore claimed by the pope. It is probable this claim might have met with some opposition, if, at the same time the claim was made, the pontiff had not declared his intention that one-third should be employed in works of piety, that another should be paid into the royal treasury, and the remainder belong to the apostolic chamber; a disposition which was executed without any dispute^z. The king, upon the demise of this prelate, recalled the archduke Albert from the government of Portugal; where the administration was committed to five regents; and, upon the archduke's arrival in Spain, the king gave him the rich see of Toledo, to the great joy of his mother, though she had no interest in his promotion; for though he treated her with great civility and respect, yet it was believed he never forgave her the defeating his father's scheme of causing him to be elected king of the Romans.

An attempt made to set up an impostor for Don Sebastian.

The king, having received the news of the death of the archduke Ernest, governor of the Low Countries, appointed Don Pedro Henriquez de Toledo de Fuentes to succeed him for the present, intending that government for the cardinal archduke Albert, who, for that reason, was not consecrated to his see, though he took possession of it by proxy, and appointed Garcia Loyasa his administrator, who, upon his resignation, became his successor^a. Henry IV. of France, believing that he could receive no greater injuries than he had already sustained from Don Philip, declared war against Spain; and took proper measures, with the assistance of the queen of England, to make his power felt where his friendship had been despised. At the time king Philip made himself master of Portugal, amongst other ecclesiastics, who were in the opposite interest, was one father Michael de los Santos, an Augustine friar, who had been vicar-general of his order, chaplain to Don Sebastian, and confessor to Don Antonio. He was a man of learning and sense, and yet took such liberties in his discourse, that the king found it absolutely necessary to remove him out of Portugal. He caused him to be seized and sent to Madrigal, where he made him confessor to a monastery of nuns of his own order, amongst whom was Donna Anna of Austria, his niece. Father Michael took notice there of one Gabriel de Spinosa, at that time a pastry-cook, a native of Toledo, but a foundling, who had been bred a velvet-weaver, who went as a

^z Cabrera, Luis de Bavaria.

^a Antonio Carnero.

soldier

foldier when the king sent the duke of Alba into Portugal, and having carried away a young woman from that country, took up the trade he then followed for a subsistence. This man father Michael engaged to assume the name of Don Sebastian; and as he could not have a more able master, and as a great deal of time and pains were spent in giving him instructions, there was scarce ever an impostor who acted his part with greater dexterity. The next thing father Michael did was to introduce him to Donna Anna, who, through reverence of her spiritual guide, prejudice in favour of a man who did all he could to render himself agreeable to her, and want of experience, was easily brought to believe that he was really the person he represented. Being flattered that a dispensation from the pope might enable her to share his throne and his bed, she gave him some jewels of great value to furnish him with money. In disposing of these privately at Madrid, he was apprehended for a thief, and, at the time he was seized, declared the truth, that he was a pastry-cook in Madrigal, and that the jewels belonged to the princess Anne of Austria. But soon after he was confined a packet was intercepted, directed to him from Madrigal, in which the title of majesty being given him, it was immediately carried to the king, and orders were thereupon sent to confine Donna Anne to her cell. The share father Michael had in this business came soon after to be understood; upon which he was made prisoner, and the decision, with respect to him, left to the pope's legate. Gabriel Spinosa at first confessed freely, but afterwards retracted; however, being carried to Madrigal, and confronted both with the princess and the friar, the two men being put to the question, acknowledged all. The issue of this matter was, that A.D. 1595. Gabriel de Spinosa was condemned to suffer death; to which he submitted with great reluctance. Father Michael, after having been degraded by order of the nuncio, was delivered over to the secular arm and hanged. He is said to have died very penitent, and to have confessed, that he intended to make use of the pretended Sebastian to excite a rebellion, and, if possible, to bring about a revolution in Portugal; after which he was to be removed to make way for Don Antonio. As for the unfortunate princess, she was removed to another convent of the same order, and very closely confined during the remainder of her life ^b.

^b Mayerne, Turquet.

The Spaniards revenge themselves on the Turks for pillaging Calabria.

Towards the end of the month of August the cardinal archduke and archbishop Albert set out for the Low Countries, vested with full powers to treat and conclude a peace with the French monarch; for as Don Philip could not prevent his being absolved by the pope, he at length abandoned the design of making the infanta a queen, and contented himself with what was in his power, resigning to her the Low Countries; a resolution which, if it had been earlier taken, might have produced those effects that were now expected from it in vain^c. Don Pedro de Toledo, captain-general of the gallies of Naples, in conjunction with Don Pedro de Livo, general of the gallies of Sicily, made a descent at Patras in the Morea, at the time of the fair, where they took from the Turks a booty to the value of four hundred thousand ducats, and brought away many rich merchants, whom they ransomed at a very high price. This year the English had a strong squadron in America, under the command of sir John Hawkins and sir Francis Drake, who both died there, after having done much mischief to the Spaniards, but with little advantage to themselves^d.

Cadiz attacked and taken by lord Howard and the earl of Essex.

Age and infirmities had by degrees broke the spirit of king Philip; so that, notwithstanding the natural loftiness of his temper, his confidence in his own strength, and conceit of his superior policy, he had a strong inclination to peace, and was even disposed to make some sacrifices for obtaining it; yet, partly from the slowness of the Spanish councils, and partly from that inactivity into which he was now fallen, he did not pursue his new measures with that vigour which was necessary to have procured them success. He had intelligence of an English fleet and army preparing to invade his dominions, and he would persuade himself that the place aimed at was Lisbon; upon which he ordered all his strength thither. But this fleet, commanded by the lord admiral Howard and the earl of Essex, had, in reality, no other view than attacking Cadiz, and destroying there the fleet outward-bound to the Indies. They were very fortunate in all respects; for they brought the first news of their own arrival, and found the Spaniards miserably unprepared. Don Juan Portocarrero, who commanded the gallies in the bay, provided in the best manner he was able for the defence of the forts and

^c Cabrera, Ferreras.
Camden's Annals.

^d Mambrino, Roseo, Cantemir,

the security of the merchantmen; which preparations, however, proved to very little purpose. The English attacked them with their small ships, as the depth of water did not permit them to use the large ones, and shewed more concern to outstrip each other in getting in, than about the resistance with which they might meet. The passage being forced, the frigates, instead of taking shelter under the castle of St. Philip, run ashore on the other side, by which means the men escaped. The galleons were either taken or burnt; the gallies had the good luck to get out, by the breaking down of a bridge, which the English somewhat imprudently had quitted. This accident, however, put it out of the power of the duke of Medina Sidonia either to relieve the place or favour the retreat of those who were in it; so that the earl of Essex stormed and took it; but the admiral landing to second him in that design, the fleet of merchantmen got up the bay, which otherwise might have been all taken; to prevent which catastrophe the duke ordered them to be set on fire. The English remained in possession fourteen days, and, though they ransomed the place for a hundred and twenty thousand ducats, the adjacent country could not raise the money; so that they carried with them their hostages. The Spanish authors are divided as to the value of the plunder; some say it amounted to four, and others say to eight millions, and six millions more were destroyed at least on board the fleet. This descent struck such a terror along the coast, that the inhabitants every where abandoned it; so that the English landed at Faro in Algarve, burnt and plundered it, carrying from thence the library of the famous Jerome Osorio, and afterwards searched the harbours of Corunna and Ferrol, where they would have burnt the king's ships if they had found them. The loss the Spaniards sustained was great, the dishonour greater; the king felt both, and, with much difficulty, assembled a fleet and army to revenge it, by invading England. The high steward of Castile, Don Martin de Padilla, commanded both; but it was so late in the season before they sailed, that they met with a violent tempest at sea on the 27th of October, by which forty sail of ships were destroyed, and the shattered remains of the fleet forced into Ferrol. In the summer, pope Clement VIII.

A.D. 1596.

e Herrera, Vander Hammen, Camden's Annals, Mayerne, Turquet. f. Cabrera.

sent his legates, cardinal Medicis to Henry IV. and father Bonaventure, general of the Observantines, to king Philip, to mediate a peace; and this was the step for which the king had waited, that the negotiation might be opened with the greater honour; whereas it might have been ended with much more advantage two years before. In the mean time the archduke Albert sustained the reputation which the count de Fuentes had acquired in the Low Countries, by taking Calais and Ardres from the French, and the island of Hulst from the Dutch, conquests which afforded some, though but a small consolation for what had happened in Spain ^g.

The surprisal of Amiens delays the peace with France for a whole year.

The peace with France would have been sooner concluded by a year, if it had not been for an unexpected piece of good fortune, or at least it was so esteemed, which happened to the Spaniards. This was the surprisal of the city of Amiens in Picardy, by Hernando Tello Portocarrero, an officer of a small stature, but of a most enterprising genius, accompanied with great firmness of mind, and a perfect knowledge of the military art, as it then stood. The archduke Albert put him upon, and supported him in this expedition; the success of which threw the city of Paris into a general consternation, and embarrassed Henry IV. extremely, who had still the duke of Mercoeur and other chiefs of the league to contend with, and was but upon indifferent terms with the protestants. The king saw that peace was not to be made upon reasonable terms till that place was retaken, which he caused to be blockaded immediately, besieged it afterwards in form, and commanded there in person. The archduke Albert marched with an army of twenty-five thousand men to its relief, and approached it so unexpectedly, that the advanced guards of the French army had probably been defeated, or at least forced to raise the siege: but taking time to form his own troops, he afforded that leisure to Henry which was necessary to remedy this disorder; and then it was thought unadvisable to risk a battle; so that, in September, the place was surrendered upon honourable terms, and the negotiations of the peace were in earnest resumed^h. About the same time his catholic majesty made known to the archduke Albert his resolution with respect to his marriage of the infanta, and the cession of the Low Countries, and sent him full powers to demand

^g La Vie de Clement XI.

^h Aubertus, Miræus.

in marriage for the prince Don Philip the daughter of the archduke Charles of Austria ¹.

The war with England continued as warm as ever. Intelligence had been received there of the invasion that was intended the year before, and that this was still the aim of his catholic majesty. To prevent this invasion Elizabeth equipped a very strong fleet, with a numerous body of troops, to block up or burn the Spanish armada in their own ports. A terrible tempest having dispersed this fleet almost as soon as it put to sea, the original scheme was laid aside, and the earl of Essex, with the best part of the fleet, and as many of the troops as were judged necessary, sent to reduce the Azores; in consequence of which it was thought impossible that they should miss the plate fleet. But this fleet was in the first place to visit the coast of Spain, which they did in a hasty manner, and then continued their route to the islands; thus Don Martin de Padilla had an opportunity to come out of Corunna, with his ships and forces; a circumstance which gave the Spaniards great hopes, and indeed great probability of success; but when they were within thirty leagues of the English coast, they were so roughly handled by a storm, that the fleet was entirely dispersed; and every ship being obliged to shift for itself, they put back in a most shattered and distressed condition into different ports of Biscay; so that, as the Spaniards themselves confess, through the immediate and apparent interposition of Providence, all their attempts to the prejudice of England were frustrated, and turned to their own loss ^k; but if the Spaniards were unlucky in their intended invasion, they were very fortunate in repelling the intended invasion of the islands. Don Gonzalez Vaz Continho, who was governor of the island of St. Michael, drew the whole force of that island to Punta Delgada, where he threw up such strong entrenchments, that the English were obliged to leave him and go to Villa Franca, from whence the earl of Essex supposed he could have marched by land to Punta Delgada, which, upon trial, he found impracticable. But what was still worse than miscarrying in their conquest, they, through some misunderstanding amongst their officers, suffered the plate fleet to escape almost unhurt, though it fell in with them. By these means the Spaniards received a supply of ten mil-

*Providence
defeats a
second time
an inva-
sion intend-
ed upon
England.*

A.D. 1597.

¹ Gonzalez de Cespedes Hist. del Rey Phelipe III.
den's Annals.

^k Cam-

lions of dollars; which had otherwise gone into their enemies pockets¹.

Peace concluded with the crown of France at Vervins.

The conferences at Vervins for a peace between the crowns of France and Spain began on the 7th of February, under the mediation of the pope's legate, cardinal Medicis; but the plenipotentiaries of Spain were named by the cardinal archduke, in virtue of the full powers that had been granted him by the king. They demanded that the duke of Savoy should be included in that treaty, and, with some difficulty, carried that point; but when they made the like demand in favour of the duke de Mercoeur, it was absolutely refused, which refusal occasioned some delay; but the duke having made a separate peace with the king, that difficulty was removed. Many others were started, but by the firmness and address of the cardinal legate, who knew very well that, notwithstanding the high and harsh language that was sometimes held on both sides, the French monarch and the cardinal archduke were equally desirous of peace, it was at length concluded and signed on the 2d of May, to the satisfaction of both monarchs. This famous treaty consisted of thirty-four articles, which in the main were very near those of the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, two only excepted; for, by the first, all places taken were to be restored, which was entirely in favour of France; and, by the twenty-third, Henry reserved all his rights to be discussed in an amicable way, or in the course of justice, by which was understood his title to the kingdom of Navarre. On the other side, Philip preserved his rights, and those of his daughter the infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, to be discussed in like manner; and these were supposed to respect the duchies of Burgundy and Bretagne^m. It is very remarkable, that as all the restitutions were on the side of the Spaniards, who were possessed of Blavet in Bretagne, and of Calais, Ardres, Montulin, and several other places in Picardy, the archduke sent the duke of Arscott, the admiral of Aragon, count Aremberg, and Don Lewis de Velasco, to be hostages for the evacuation of these places, as well as to be witnesses to the king's swearing to the peace, which he did in the presence of the cardinal legate on the 21st of June, and the archduke did the like at Brussels, in the presence of marshal Biron, on the 27th of the same monthⁿ.

¹ Cabrera.
561.

^m Corps Universel Diplomat. tom. v. p. i. p.
ⁿ Aubertus, Miræus, Herrera.

The archduke having received his uncle's orders to go into Germany, in order to conduct the archduchess Margaret through Italy into Spain, he, in the first place, resigned his hat by a letter directed to the pope, which was delivered by the archbishop of Besançon. He also resigned the archbishoprick of Toledo, which was bestowed on Don Garcia de Loyasa, preceptor to prince Philip; and then, in virtue of the renunciation made by the king, on the 6th of May, at Madrid, and of full powers granted him by the infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, he received the oaths of the states, and those of the duchy of Brabant, upon the 10th of August. All these steps were taken, with a view to conclude his marriage, while the king was yet alive, from an apprehension that some doubts or difficulties might arise on the part of his successor. All this diligence, however, was ineffectual in this respect; for the king declining daily, through a complication of distempers, caused himself to be removed from Madrid to the Escorial, not without great difficulty, and against the advice of his physicians, to whose representations the king answered with great firmness, that they would have the trouble of carrying him thither when he was dead, and they might as well do it while he was alive. He was much better after his arrival there for some days; but then he relapsed. Upon his death-bed he gave a paper of instructions to the prince his son, to whom he recommended the infanta, calling her the joy of his heart, and the delight of his eyes. He ordered some state prisoners to be set at liberty, and, amongst the rest, the wife of Antonio Pérez, upon condition that she retired to a monastery. At length, with great marks of piety, as the Spaniards say, and, in the midst of the most excruciating torments, he breathed his last, on Sunday the 13th of September, about five in the afternoon, in the seventy-first year of his age, and in the forty-second of his reign⁹.

The death of Philip II. and the perplexed state of affairs at the time.

There is scarce any character in history that has been more frequently examined, or more severely censured, than that of this prince, who, though magnified by some Spanish historians as another Solomon, under whose form he is represented in a statue at the entrance of the Escorial, where Charles the Fifth is adorned by the sculptor

Maxims of his administration in regard to the general system of Europe.

⁹ Cabrera, Herrera, Campana, Bourdeville, Sieur de Brantome, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.

with

with the robes and the crown of David; yet others have more fitly compared him to Tiberius; and, while his panegyrist held him forth as a model for princes, those who criticised his character described him as the mirror of tyrants. Without partiality or prejudice, we will offer the reader a few observations drawn from facts. He was styled Philip the Prudent, and with justice; for he was in all things a politician. Those who magnify his piety, by which they mean his zeal for the church of Rome, seem thereby to offer an exception; but they only seem to offer it; for Philip was only a political bigot. When Philip began his reign, he was upon bad terms with the court of Rome; he was therefore no persecutor in England, but shewed rather a compassion for those that suffered here for their sincerity in the faith. He introduced and subjected the Spanish church to the decrees of the council of Trent, but it was in his own way, and by his own authority; and though, through his whole reign, he was pressed to banish the Moreos for the security of religion, his constant answer was, "You must find some other way; for this is impracticable." The truth of the matter is, the church was the great instrument in his government, and he made great use of churchmen in his administration; and thus his zeal is accounted for on political principles. In point of system, if ever a modern prince aimed at universal monarchy, it was Philip II. He was disappointed in his schemes; but those schemes were equally bold and well-contrived. He was near being king of the Romans; he bid fair for making his daughter queen of France; and his projects for the conquest of England were defeated by Providence, but by competent judges were never derided. As his plans were very extensive, so he had great fertility of invention, and was never at a loss for expedients to piece them together again when broken, till his treasure and his power were equally exhausted, and then as he began, so he ended his reign, with endeavouring to establish peace. In his domestic administration, he has been justly commended for encouraging and promoting men of abilities; but he depressed the nobility too much, and therefore he advised his son to a contrary course, that of caressing the grandees, and curtailing the revenue and power of the clergy; and this he did from his observation, that new men were turbulent, and, being raised from nothing, nothing could content them. It is very certain that he had not much affection,
and

and less of pity, in his composition ; but it is as certain that he has been represented as more cruel than he really was ; for however severe he might be when his scheme of policy required it, he was never wantonly so, and could not therefore be said to delight in blood.

In private life he was vicious, and therefore his pretences to religion were certainly political ; for true piety appears in the conduct of a man's life, and is not to be taken from exterior actions, which may have another motive, and must have it, when, with high pretensions to piety, a person is corrupt in his morals. He had great haughtiness in his nature ; and it was said, that though in his person and his complexion he resembled the Flemings, his temper and behaviour were intirely of the growth of Spain. Those who had audience of him, spoke upon their knees, a posture which he excused from the lowness of his stature, pretending he did it to avoid being overshadowed by those who addressed him. He not only held the nobility in subjection, but at a distance ; and, to qualify these apparent signs of pride, he was very easy of access to persons of meaner rank, but without departing from his dignity, unless he might be said so to do in conversing familiarly with peasants. He used the like condescension to churchmen, to his ministers, and to the ladies. He acquired by habit such an equality of temper, that success, or the want of it, made no alteration in his behaviour. He was never reputed brave, but he had a great firmness of mind ; and though less active than his father in his person, yet he was at least equal to him in abilities ; for he gave his enemies more disturbance by the factions and insurrections he excited by his intrigues, than the emperor had ever done by his arms. Upon the whole, his ambition and his policy made him great and terrible during the major part of a long reign ; but at the same time it made him odious, and exhausted his power. He saw this truth when it was too late, subscribed to the advice given by his father, and penned a censure of his own conduct for the use of his son.

*His conduct
in domestic
affairs,
and per-
sonal cha-
racter.*

S E C T. XVI.

The History of the Reign of Don Philip III.

*Measures
of the young
king on his
accession,
and conclu-
sion of his
marriage.*

THE prince Don Philip of Spain, at the time of his accession to the throne, was in the twenty-first year of his age. He had received a good education, under the care of Don Garcia archbishop of Toledo, was sincerely virtuous and pious, and, as a noble Italian historian says, exceeded most of his subjects in moral virtues; but was very defective in those great qualities that are generally expected in kings. In the last years of his father's life he had assisted in the council for foreign affairs, and shewed somewhat of ambition in demanding the key from Christopher de Mora, the ensign of his office, while his father was yet living, at whose command it was delivered to him, and he gave it immediately to Don Francisco de Rájas y Sandoval, marquis of Denia, his favourite, on whom he not long after bestowed the title of duke of Lerma^a. In the beginning of this reign, the peace with France was ratified, as also the cession of the Low Countries in favour of the infanta^b. The archduke Albert proceeded in his journey to Germany, and, with the duchess of Gratz and the archduchess Margaret, her daughter, travelled slowly, and with great pomp, through the territories of the state of Venice, where all imaginable honours were paid to them, into Italy. Pope Clement VIII. being at Ferrera, where, on the 15th of November, by virtue of a procuration from king Philip, he espoused the archduchess, the nuptial blessing was given by the pope; and at the same time the Spanish ambassador, who was the duke of Soffa, acting as proxy for the infanta Donna Isabella, the pope celebrated that marriage also; then taking Mantua and Milan in their way, the archduke brought her to Genoa; where, however, the rough weather detained them till the spring^c.

In the beginning of the ensuing year died the archbishop of Toledo, which event, besides the loss of so great

^a *Sieur de Brantome Memoires des Grands Capitaines Etrangers.*

^b *P. Daniel*

^c *Vita Clem. VIII. Grim-*

ston's Continuation of Mayerne Turq.

a man, had great influence on the court, as it put the king intirely into the hands of his favourite, who quickly procured the primacy of Spain for Don Bernard de Rajos y Sandoval, bishop of Jacca, who was soon after honoured with a hat from Rome. The new queen, attended by the archduke, landed towards the latter end of March in the kingdom of Valentia, and the king repairing to that capital, the marriage was solemnized and consummated on the 18th of April. Amongst other signals of public joy on this occasion, there were two statues erected, one representing Jupiter, and the other king Philip, with a globe resting on both their shoulders; the meaning of which was obvious enough; but soon after an inscription was pinned upon the god, containing these words, This Jupiter is the duke of Lerma; a circumstance which shewed how early the public envy began against this minister^d. The old ministers and governors of provinces, who had been bred in his father's maxims, excited the duke of Savoy to persist in keeping the marquisate of Saluces from the French king, and promised him the support of Spain, provided he would send his three children thither to be educated, or, as the duke understood it, to serve for hostages. They prevailed also with the king to assemble great forces at Lisbon, and afterwards to bring troops and a fleet to Corunna. He also demanded of Henry the Fourth, that his fleet might be received into the harbour of Brest; all which steps were taken to alarm queen Elizabeth, as if he intended an invasion; which compliment the queen returned by preparations of the same kind, though there does not seem to have been any real intention on either side^e. The archduke Albert having married the infanta, the king conducted them to Barcelona, where they embarked on the 7th of June for Genoa, from whence they proceeded by land to the Low Countries, where the archduke no sooner arrived, than he acquainted queen Elizabeth, that he had full powers to treat of peace; and commissioners being appointed on both sides, they met at Bologne by consent of the French king^f.

A D. 1599.
The duke, his favourite while prince, declared his prime minister, and hated on that account.

^d Grimston's Continuation of Mayerne Turq.

^e Cam-

den's Annals. ^f Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, extracted from the MS. State-papers of Sir Thomas Edmondes, knight, ambassador in France, by T. Birch.

A.D. 1600.

*Attempts
unsuccess-
ful against
the Moors,
and in-
trigues of
the count
de Fuen-
tes in Italy.*

The Dutch sent a strong fleet to the islands, which did a great deal of mischief, being the first time that they had acted at sea alone against the crown of Spain; but, as auxiliaries, they had assisted in taking Calais ^g.

The count de Fuentes, who had formerly made so great a figure in the Low Countries, having now the government of Milan, not only with very full powers, but with a million of pieces of eight at his disposal, raised a great army, which drew the eyes of all Europe upon him; but, however, he did little, and what he intended was never perfectly understood. It was apparently designed to support the duke of Savoy, and to alarm the French king; but there were various secret designs, and one of them the surprising of Marseilles, which miscarried ^h. At last, that these preparations might at least seem to have some end, a fleet of seventy gallies was sent, under the command of Doria, against the Turks; but though the basha Zigali's fleet was much inferior, that of Spain did nothing. While the treaty was concluding at Bologne, his catholic majesty assisted the rebels in Ireland; and it is said that king Philip obtained from the infanta, his sister, a resignation of her rights, whatever they were, to the crown of England. Next year Doria made another attempt upon Algiers with as little success ⁱ. On the 22d of September the queen was happily delivered of the infanta Donna Anna at Valladolid, to the great joy of the Spaniards, some doubts having been entertained whether there would be any issue of this marriage. The duke of Savoy was so much of this opinion, and so fully persuaded that the infanta Isabella would die childless, that he began to relish the proposal that had been made of sending his sons to be educated in a country, to the crown of which they might one day become heirs. The count de Fuentes still continued his armaments and his intrigues; and though, in the end, he seized the marquise of Final, and published a pompous manifesto on that occasion, yet the world was now well enough apprised of his true design, by the discovery of marshal Biron's conspiracy, in which he was very deeply embarked, and which, as it ruined his own, so it very much lessened his master's reputation, more especially as he still maintained

^g Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts.
della Republica Veneta, di Batt Nani.
Annals.

^h Historia
ⁱ Camden's An-

his government, and continued still to pursue the same dark designs ^k.

Upon the death of queen Elizabeth, the court of Spain sent over Don Juan Baptista Taxis, count of Villa Mediana, to compliment king James upon his accession, and, under that pretence, to make some overtures of peace. This was judged to be the more necessary, as they were not ignorant in Spain that Henry the Fourth of France was very desirous of engaging the new king in that general confederacy he was forming, in order to pull down the power of the house of Austria. In the summer, another expedition was made by sea against the infidels without success; and, in the autumn, died the empress Mary of Austria, who was the daughter, the daughter-in-law, wife, and mother, of five emperors. She was exceedingly beloved by the people, and respected by the royal family in Spain, which was now increased, by the arrival of the prince of Piedmont, and his two brothers. The year en-

Compliments the king of England upon his accession, and concludes a peace with him.

A.D. 1604.

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fuing his catholic majesty sent Don Juan Fernandez de Velasco, constable of Castile, his ambassador and plenipotentiary into England, to complete the negotiation which was already far advanced. Commissioners being appointed on both sides, the peace, notwithstanding many obstacles that were thrown in the way, was at length concluded, signed, and proclaimed, in the beginning of August, to the great satisfaction of the court and the people^l. It was the more acceptable, as the misunderstandings still continued between Spain and France, which frequently discovered themselves by the imposition of heavy duties on merchandize on one side, and prohibitions of commerce on the other. Besides, it was hoped that this treaty would make way for a peace with the new republic of the United Provinces, of which the archdukes were very desirous, and which could not but be pleasing to the catholic king, who paid a monthly subsidy of thirty thousand ducats for the support of a war which produced him neither honour or profit.

As it was requisite to send an ambassador extraordinary to Spain, to see the peace sworn to by his catholic majesty, the king of England made choice of the earl of Nottingham for that purpose, who was so well known to the

A.D. 1605.

The prince Don Philip born, to the great joy of the king and all his subjects.

^k Historia della Republica de Veneta, di Batt Nani. ^l Camden's Annals of King James I. Corps. Universel Diplomatique, tom. iv. part ii. p. 32.

Spaniards

Spaniards by the title of the lord high admiral Howard. He was received with all possible demonstrations of respect, and had the good fortune to find the court in raptures of joy on the birth of the prince Don Philip, which happened on the 8th of April; of the ceremonies of whose christening he was a spectator, the duke of Lerma and the infanta Donna Anna being sponsors. Soon afterwards the king swore to the due performance of the treaty, the cardinal archbishop of Toledo reading the oath, and the king kneeling, with his hands upon the gospel^m. Next year the queen was delivered of the infanta Donna Maria, and the first steps were made towards the negotiation of a truce with the states, though it did not take effect. The finances were in great disorder, and the measures taken to redress this were far from answering the end. In the mean time, those who hated the favourite, and who had pursued him with envy from the very beginning of the reign, multiplied their imputations, and magnified every unlucky accident that happened into a crime. Amongst other things, it was alleged, that the very duties upon oil and wine had brought in three-and-twenty-millions; that the fleets from the Indies were more richly laden than in his father's time; and that, notwithstanding this vast income, the king's coffers were empty. All these considerations confirmed the minister in his former sentiment, that the maxims of the last reign were to be abandoned, the sums squandered on spies and pensioners retrenched, and an end put to the war in the Low Countries without delay; since, besides the immediate expences supplied to the archduke, it obliged the crown of Spain to put annually a strong fleet to sea, and subjected them to losses in the Indies, which it was impossible to prevent or repairⁿ.

*Assembly of
the states,
in which
was regulated the
great business
of the
coinage.*

This situation of things made it requisite to call an assembly of the states, which was opened on the 16th of April; and continued sitting the best part of two years at Madrid, to which city the court was returned on account of the inconveniencies that were felt from their residence at Valladolid. There, on the 13th of January, the infant Don Philip was acknowledged heir apparent to his father, and the nobility sworn to his succession. In this assembly

^m Grimston's Continuation of Mayerne Turquet.
sales, de Cespides, Historia della Republica de Veneta di Batt Nani.

ⁿ Gon-

also the tender point of the duke of Lerma's administration was brought upon the carpet; and this was doubling the value of the copper-money, in which measure without doubt he was ill advised. The famous jesuit Mariana, who had rendered his name immortal by his History of Spain, shewed himself a judicious politician and an unbiassed patriot, in an admirable treatise upon this subject; but, having drawn the minister's picture in very strong colours, and exhibited his master likewise as an indolent and inactive prince, who looked into nothing with his own eyes, but left all to the discretion of those, or rather to the disposition of him he trusted, he was arrested, and remained a prisoner a full year°. The states, however, more intent upon finding a remedy for the evil, than the punishment of those who perhaps erred in judgment, passed a law on the 22d of November, in which they provided, that the silver which should come from the Indies in the two next floats should be coined in the manner therein prescribed; and that all the silver which came for the future should be likewise coined in such money as should be most expedient; for, upon raising the value of the copper coin, it had been poured in upon them from abroad, and their silver suddenly swept away, as if it had been by enchantment. The duke, however, prosecuting his scheme, procured a truce for eight months to be concluded in the Low Countries, which made way for that by which the states of the United Provinces were acknowledged as free and independent P.

A.D. 1608.

This great event was brought about in the succeeding year by the interposition and under the mediation of the kings of France and England, who were guarantees of this treaty, by which a truce was concluded for twelve years between his catholic majesty, the archduke, and the states-general. It was signed on the 9th of April, and ratified by king Philip at Segovia in the month of June^q. This peace produced a new clamour against the duke of Lerma, who was certainly the author of the measure, which those who hated him considered as highly dishonourable to Spain. The duke of Lerma, in all appearance, had nothing to answer for in this respect, since he

A.D. 1609.

Truce with Holland, when the Dutch republic was owned as a free state.

° Bernard Girald. Patavinus. pro senatu Veneto Apologia. Nicolas Antonio Biblioth. Hisp. tom. i. p. 560. P Card. Bentivoglio, della Guerra di Flandra. q Les Negociations de M. le President Jeanin sur la Treve des Pays, Emanuel, Meteren, Histoire des Pays Bas, fo. 658.

sacrificed only phantoms and chimeras to the real interests of the crown, by taking the single method that could be taken to rescue the Spanish nation from a consumption by which she was already brought very low, and by which, in the space of a few years, she must have been utterly undone; while most of her neighbours, who bore her no good will, were daily augmenting their strength and wealth, and, as she had good reason to fear, meant, at a proper season, to make her sensible that they had not forgot the injuries they had received from her in the days of her prosperity.

*The Mo-
rescoes, af-
ter much
delibera-
tion, are
expelled
out of the
kingdom of
Valentia;*

All the measures that had hitherto been taken to secure the tranquility of Spain, notwithstanding the number of Morescoes that were still left, could not dispossess the greatest part of the clergy, and many prelates, of whom the archbishop of Valentia was the chief, of their apprehension, which they represented in the strongest terms possible to the cardinal archbishop of Valentia; and he, on the other hand, prepossessed his brother the duke of Lerma in such a manner, that, in spite of all the arguments which could be used to the contrary, a resolution was taken to expel them out of that kingdom, and the edict for that purpose subscribed by the king, at the Escorial, September the 11th, 1609^r. In this edict it is said, that the Moors had invited the grand signior, and the king of Fez and Morocco, to make a descent in Spain with a great army, promising that they should be received by fifty thousand good infantry, who were as zealous Mohammedans as any in Asia or Africa. Some say that they were charged with a conspiracy to massacre all the old Christians on the Good Friday following; but this was only a contrivance to give a colour to this barbareous and inhuman expedient, which was vigorously opposed by all the nobility and men of property in the kingdom of Valentia, who foretold, and the event justified the prediction, that, with the Moors, industry, wealth, and plenty, would be banished from their country. But all methods possible being tried to alter the king's resolution without effect, the decree was put in execution, and the Moors at several times transported out of that kingdom into Bar-

^r Jaime Bleda, *Chronica de los Moros de Espana*, History of the Expulsion of the Morescoes out of Spain in the Reign of Philip III. by Michael Geddes, vol. i. p. 115.

bary, where however his catholic majesty interposed his interest to procure them a good reception¹.

After the execution of this decree in Valentia, the same method was taken in Andalusia, Granada, Murcia, Catalonia, Arragon, both Castiles, Estremadura, and La Mancha, not without two rebellions, which were not suppressed without a great effusion of blood¹. A great number of children under the age of seven years were retained and sold; but his catholic majesty declared they should not remain slaves, but that those who bought and educated them should have their service as many years after they reached the age of twelve as they had bought them under it, and that then they should be free. By this expulsion of the Moors, some say that no less than a million of persons were sent out of Spain, which calculation is probably beyond the truth; but it seems on all hands agreed, that there were eighty thousand families transported, comprehending six hundred thousand persons²(A). However, the bad

¹ Gonfales de Cespides, Geddes's Miscel. Tracts. Bleda.

² Amelot de la Houssaie.

¹ Jaime

(A) The chief reasons for expelling the Moors, or rather Moreiscoes, by the clergy, and more especially by the cardinal of Toledo and the archbishop of Valentia, might be reduced to three. First, That they were obstinate and incorrigible infidels, upon whom preaching did no good, and all instructions were cast away; and therefore it was to no purpose to bear with them any longer. Secondly, That they were traitors to the state, rejoiced at the misfortunes of the king's arms, wished well to his enemies, held a constant correspondence with them, invited them to invade the kingdom with a promise of their assistance, and, as often as they had opportunity, sold or betrayed people into the hands of their

countrymen the Moors of Barbary; so that, from a principle of self-preservation, it was requisite to remove them. Thirdly, That as they perpetually increased in their numbers, and began in many places to have great interest with their neighbours, there was great risque of their corrupting the manners and faith of the Christians, and no less hazard of their becoming strong enough to attempt recovering their dominion over them. It was therefore absolutely necessary, to prevent these evils, to remove them without delay. To these the barons opposed their answers. They said, that if most of the Moreiscoes were Mohammedans at the bottom, it was owing to the want of learning and application in the clergy,

bad effects that were foreseen quickly discovered themselves; and though the duke of Lerma secured by it the clergy

clergy, to the wrong methods they took in converting them, to the impolitic and irreligious distinction between old and new Christians, to the want of suitable encouragements, and, above all, to the violences and cruelties exercised upon them by the inquisition. As to their treasons, they were at best chimerical; that, for their correspondencies with France, England, and Holland, they were downright falsehoods, equally void of probability and evidence; and that, as to the persons they sold or betrayed to the Moors, they would undertake to ransom all captives at the expence of the Morefcoes. In answer to the danger and hazard that might attend keeping them, they suggested the immense benefit that arose from their labours, the improbability of unarmed and dejected people rising and conquering a warlike and potent nation, and the dreadful indigence that must follow from expelling a million of industrious people to gratify the resentment, and still the fears, of avaricious and timid priests, some grudging the pensions they paid out of their revenues to those appointed to instruct them; and others weary of their pastoral functions, and

willing to sell their flocks, which in conscience they were bound to feed (1). After all, it must be allowed, that the clergy spoke truth, when they affirmed the bulk of the Morefcoes to be Mohammedans; and it must be also allowed they spoke sense, in affirming it to be very dangerous to let them remain in Spain if they continued so. On the other hand, the nobility were in the right as to the advantages derived from them, and no less so in the consequences they foresaw from the loss of them. Both spoke from their interests, and neither had any thing else in view (2). The king and his ministers, therefore, ought to have given full credit to neither; they should have employed their thoughts in devising how to make these people true Christians, which would have put an end to the dispute (3). This might have been done by separating them, by establishing an order of monks, whose sole business it should have been to convert them, by erecting schools for teaching their children the Castilian tongue, by bestowing upon those children employments in distant parts of the country, and by sending the apostates into Barbary, instead of

(1) The History of the Expulsion of the Morefcoes out of Spain, among the Miscellaneous Tracts of Dr. Michael Geddes. (2) Gonzales de Céspedes, Historia del Rey D. Phelippe III. p. 391. (3) Las Memoires de Phelipe de Comines, con Escolios propios de Don Juan Vitrian, ii. 13.

clergy in his interest, it lost him the best part of the nobility, and was always considered as the worst action in his whole administration. In the month of November the strong and important fortress of Larach in Africa was betrayed to the Moors, through the treachery of some Morescoes, which, though in itself of great loss, was of some use in allaying that general discontent which had been excited by their expulsion, though it was as likely to have been occasioned by the resentment of that measure as by any other way *.

It is affirmed by some who were present in the Spanish court, that the news of the deplorable death of Henry the Fourth of France was very acceptable there; an assertion which is the less strange, since there is nothing more certain, than that his demise at this juncture concurred precisely with their interests *. The Spanish ministers, or at least their emissaries, had given this prince perpetual disturbance and repeated provocations ever since the peace of Vervins, which was concluded from necessity rather than choice; and it was well enough known, that though he bore this, he bore it with great reluctance, and with a purpose of being revenged as soon as it was in his power. At the very moment he was murdered, he was on the point of taking the field against the house of Austria in the empire, and, it was believed, had concluded a secret treaty with Charles Emanuel duke of Savoy, one of the ablest, but one of the most unquiet, princes that age produced, by which he promised him his assistance in conquering Milan from the Spaniards. If, therefore, the war had broke out in Italy as he intended, at the same time that it began to blaze in the Low Countries and in Germany, the system framed by Charles the Fifth, and upon which Philip the Second wrought throughout his long reign, would in all probability have been demolished in a

Death of the French king held a very favourable event for the house of Austria.

* Gonfales de Cespides, Jaime Bleda. *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 176.

* Winwood's *Memorials*.

of leaving them at the mercy of the inquisition (4). But the duke of Lerma was governed by his brother, and the king by the duke and his own superstitious fears, which were wrought on by pretended miracles and fictitious prophecies (5).

(4) Geddes's *Traacts*, vol. i. de los Morescos de Espana, de M F. D. Fonseca.

(5) Justa, *Expulsion*

few months, since the deep submission shewn both in Germany and in Italy was the pure effects of dissimulation, and, upon the first appearance of a force sufficient to protect them, the concealed enemies of the house of Austria would in both have thrown off the mask. However, upon the first intelligence of the French king's death, the court of Spain went into mourning, and a minister was dispatched to Paris with compliments of condolence to the queen regent, as well as to put her in mind of the marriages that had been proposed: the flatterers of both courts gave out, that the match of the eldest infanta and the young king Lewis was intended by Providence, because they were born within a few days of each other. This embassy was very kindly received, and the proposals of marriage were promised to be brought upon the carpet, notwithstanding the French nation appeared in general very much against it. The duke of Lerma was extremely satisfied with this measure, as it fell in exactly with his pacific disposition, and allowed him to proceed at leisure in his scheme of paying the king's debts, and bringing the finances into order, for which he was highly applauded by his creatures, and abused almost by every body else, upon a supposition that old demands could not be satisfied without a proportionable present to the all-powerful benefactor by whom they were procured.

A D. 1610.

*The demise
of the queen
Donna
Margaret
of Austria,
and the
suspicious it
occasioned.*

Queen Margaret of Spain, who had an extreme attention to this marriage, a great influence over the king, and upon whom the German branch of the house of Austria chiefly relied, had the satisfaction of seeing herself the mother of three princes and as many princesses, when she was delivered of another son, Don Alonso, on the 22d of September, at the Escorial, which event was celebrated with all possible demonstrations of joy; but these soon after were converted into mourning by the unexpected death of this princess on the third of October following. A report prevailed some time after that she was poisoned, and very probably those who raised it cast the suspicion on the man in the world least likely to commit such a fact: this was Don Rodrigo Calderona, who was a favourite at once to the queen and the duke of Lerma, over whom he had

▼ Gonfales de Cespides, Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII. contenant ce qui est arrivé de plus remarquable en France et dans l'Europe depuis le commencement de son regne jusqu'à la mort de ce prince, par M. Le Vassor.

a prodigious influence, or rather command; from which it was asserted, by those who had more wit than to believe it themselves, that he had enchanted them both. A certain prelate, however, assures us, that the queen was poisoned by the smell of certain perfumed pastils thrown into the fire, which the season rendered necessary in the chamber; and the fact is ascribed to the natural aversion which the Spaniards have to German customs, from which the queen would never refrain^a. Be this as it will, as soon as the king appeared in public, it was given out on one side, that he was desirous of marrying the English princess Elizabeth, but to others it was pretended that he had thoughts of a princess of Savoy.

A D. 1611.

The queen regent of France, having made the necessary alterations in her council, ventured to avow the double marriage concluded with the court of Spain; and sent the duke of Mayenne to Madrid, to demand the infanta, at the same time that the duke of Pastrana was sent to Paris, to make the like demand of the princess Isabella, or Elizabeth, sister to king Lewis, for Don Philip, prince of Asturias; which ceremonies, though supported with all imaginable splendor, from the natural antipathy of both nations, were not agreeable to either, though the situation of their affairs rendered them very convenient^a. The Moreoscos, so hardly dealt with in Spain, sustained this year two persecutions from those of their own religion. At Constantinople they drove the Jews out of the suburb of Pera, and attempted the like with respect to the Christians, for which they were chastised by the grand vizir. The city of Algiers being afflicted with famine, they turned out thousands of those poor creatures to starve, and put numbers of them to death. The murmurs of the people in Spain were in some measure silenced by the arrival of a plate fleet from the Indies with eleven millions on board^b.

Reciprocal marriages with the royal family of France solemnly confirmed.

A.D. 1612.

The Spanish ministry, as much as their parts were slighted by their countrymen, had with great address perfected what the French could never perform, that is, the intire subjection of Italy. Charles duke of Savoy could not brook this with patience; the Venetians saw it with con-

War in Italy, and the renewal of a proposition for a marriage in England.

^a Pauli Piasccii Chronica Gestorum in Europa singularium.

^b Le Vassor. Winwood's Memorials, Gonfales de Cespidés.

^c Cantemir.

A. D. 1613.

cern; and the grand duke, though he felt but little of the yoke, was far from being easy under it. Pope Paul the Fifth affected not to perceive it; and indeed the Spaniards occupied themselves rather in forging and rivetting the chains of Italy, than in rattling them about people's ears, merely to make them know who were their masters. The death of the duke of Mantua, who left an only daughter, produced an explanation of this matter which the Spaniards did not expect or desire. Cardinal Gonzaga, brother to the deceased duke, laid aside his hat to place a coronet upon his head; and the duke of Savoy, having withdrawn the duchess dowager his daughter, surpris'd on a sudden the best part of the Montferrat, of his rights to which he had made a cession upon his daughter's marriage. The duke of Mantua, unable to defend himself, called in the assistance of his neighbours the Venetians, and the grand duke supplied him from a point of honour; but the governor of Milan received express orders from Madrid to oblige both princes to disarm, and to prescribe a peace upon certain terms, the most remarkable one of which was the marriage of the cardinal duke to his brother's widow. Both princes were displeased with this, as were indeed all the Italian states; but after all, the cardinal duke wisely submitted, knowing that he had not a power to resist, and upon a presumption that his antagonist, who was stronger, would take the same steps upon other motives; so that he should lose nothing, and procure at the same time the protection of Spain, in which he judged right; for the duke of Savoy roundly refused to part either with his troops or his daughter, not doubting that he should be supported by France, in which expectation however he found himself mistaken ^b. At this time the Catholic king and his ministers continued to amuse the English court with distant and indefinite propositions. The princess Elizabeth was married to the elector Palatine, so that nothing more could be said on that head ^c. Henry, prince of Wales, whom they had often wished in Spain to espouse the infanta Donna Maria, was dead; and the loss of this prince put the Spanish ministers in mind, that when a match was mentioned between him and the infanta, of the disproportion between their ages. She was said to be a fitter match for the duke of York, in which they now concluded the English ministers had reason, and were for bring-

^b *Historia della Republica Veneta di Batt Nani.*
^c Wil-
 son's History of King James I.

ing this negotiation upon the carpet again, though all their purpose was only to amuse, since they knew the marriage was extremely odious in England, nor could it be more so there than it was to them.

The military preparations of the Turks being very great, and no certainty at all upon whom the storm would break, the Spanish ministers found themselves under a necessity of providing for the security of their coasts, and fitting out a considerable fleet. By that time this was completed, it was known that the Turks had in view the attacking of Malta; but before the Spaniards had leisure to regulate the affairs of their succours, the grand signor laid up his fleet, and turned his arms against the Persians. Orders were sent to Don Lewis Faxarado, who commanded the Spanish fleet, to make a descent on Barbary, and to build a strong fort upon the gulph of Marmora, to prevent the pirates from taking shelter there, and disturbing from thence the coasts and the commerce of Spain. This scheme, in the month of August, was happily effected; and, though it would scarce have deserved notice in the days of Charles or Philip his son, it was one of the most considerable successes of this reign^d. The troubles of Italy still continued, though the duke of Savoy professed upon all occasions the most profound deference for his brother-in-law, and actually sent his son, the prince of Piedmont, into Spain; but having a secret understanding with the governor of Milan, it was sometimes war, sometimes peace, between them, notwithstanding very precise and clear orders were sent from Madrid. The great point he laboured to evade was, the disbanding his troops; for otherwise he was not very averse to the terms of peace that had been prescribed, more especially when he found the queen regent of France would not embark in this quarrel, out of respect to the house of Mantua, with a branch of which in France she had some measures to keep. On the other hand, the duke of Lerma, who was believed to have a personal prejudice against the duke of Savoy, and who, from the entire influence he had over his master, hindered him from proceeding farther than some general discourses in a scheme of marrying a princess of that house, resolved to ruin all his projects by sending a new governor into the Milanese, who should pursue his instructions punctually, and by making the Venetians feel

A.D 1614.

^d Mariana, Gonfales de Cespides, Amelot de la Houfflaie.

the

the resentment of Spain for the succours they had privately given the duke, though they had taken part against him in the beginning of the quarrel. The sole view of the Spanish minister was, that an end should be put to these disputes by the interposition of Spain, without admitting the shadow of the emperor's authority, or allowing the French to interfere in the negotiation. In this respect he was jealous of his master's honour, but took care to second his dictates with the princes of Italy by an army of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, which he judged the most probable means of having them obeyed. Though he was not reputed the most subtle statesman, yet even his enemies allow, that this plan was well drawn, and conducted throughout both with prudence and spirit ^e.

He was prevailed upon, however, to trust Mendoza, the old governor, with the conduct of the campaign for this year, from various motives, of which this was none of the least, that, the double marriages being to take place, it was not so convenient that things should be carried with a high hand in Italy. He abated, however, nothing in his instructions, but left that entirely to the temper of him who was to execute them, and who, notwithstanding his superiority, having to deal with a prince of consummate capacity, made a confused kind of war, which he concluded as soon as he could by a perplexed peace ^f. In the mean time his Catholic majesty went to Burgos, where, on the 18th of October, the marriage was celebrated by proxy between prince Philip of Spain and Madame Isabella, sister to the king of France. The same day was likewise celebrated the marriage of Lewis the Thirteenth with the infanta of Castile, who two days before had renounced all her rights to the succession, in case her brothers died without issue, not only to her father's kingdoms, but even to the Low Countries. On the 9th of November the two princesses were exchanged on the river of Bidassô. Affairs were at this time in such confusion in France, that the queen regent was forced to bring her son with an army to meet his bride, whom he received at Bourdeaux, and was afterwards obliged to conclude a peace with the malecontents, in order to open a safe passage back to Paris; which peace proved very soon fatal to the marshal d'Ancre, who had the chief hand in

^e *Historia della Repubblica Veneta di Batt Nani, Mariana.*
^f *Gontales de Cespides, Le Vassor, Pauli Piafecii.*

Both the marriages solemnized with great pomp and splendor at Burgos.

A.D. 1615.

the marriage, and to the queen herself, who was exiled to Blois. As for his Catholic majesty, he remained with the prince at Burgos till the arrival of Madame Isabella, and soon after returned with the court to Madrid. There the treaty of Asti, which had been concluded by the governor of Milan, was disclaimed, and a resolution taken to send Don Pedro de Toledo, marquis of Villa Franca, to replace him in that government; a man of high spirit and great talents, who it was not doubted would re-establish the superiority of Spain, and give law to the princes and states of Italy. This step the duke of Lerma thought indispensably necessary for the honour of his master's crown, and for the credit of his administration, which he knew was decried by the common people, at the same time that his authority was undermined, by those who were under all the ties and obligations that either the laws of nature or of society could establish, for the foundation of trust and confidence amongst men. He bore up against them, however, with courage, and opposed great prudence and long experience, as well as the interest he still had in his master, to the arts and intrigues of men who attacked him without any just cause, and were guided solely by the dictates of their ambition.

Don Pedro de Toledo, the new governor of Milan, quickly gave the duke of Savoy, and all who were interested in the treaty of Asti, to understand, that it was not to be the rule of his actions, farther than it was consistent with the glory of the Spanish crown, of which he took himself to be the sole judge. He applied himself with such vigour and diligence to augment his troops, and to dispose all things for the continuance of the war, that, notwithstanding he forbore committing hostilities, yet he perplexed the duke of Savoy much more than his predecessor had done at the head of a numerous army. The French king at first sent thither Monsieur de Bethune; and after him the marshal de Lesdiguières was sent to Turin, where he served the duke of Savoy effectually by his advice, and saved him by his assistance, which enabled him to resist Don Pedro when he came to attack him openly, as well as to defeat that back blow by which the governor of Milan expected to have undone him; for understanding that the duke of Nemours,

Don Pedro de Toledo, marquis of Villa Franca, made governor of Milan.

* *Historia della Republica Veneta di Batt Nani, Mariana, Le Vassor.*

A.D. 1665. who was of the house of Savoy, and who had been but indifferently used by the duke, was notwithstanding raising forces on his behalf in France, he, by promising him the investiture of Savoy, engaged him to change sides, and, when admitted into his country, to fall upon the duke with that army which had been raised partly with his money, and entirely for his service. But this treachery was discovered in time, and prevented. It was upon this that the governor of Milan, who had assembled to give the duke of Nemours time to penetrate into Savoy, discovered his real intentions, and began the war, in which his superiority gave him some success; but the great courage and conduct of duke Charles of Savoy prevented his doing any thing that could be accounted decisive. The duke of Ossuna, at this time viceroy of Naples, attacked the duke likewise by sea, and made some impression ^b. The Spaniards had also another quarrel with the Venetians, as auxiliaries of the archduke Ferdinand.

Strange designs and daring practices of the Spanish ministers in Italy.

The flame of war blazed higher this year in Italy than ever, and would have spread much farther than the court of Spain intended, if the intrigues before mentioned had not been discovered. There was at this time a triumvirate of ministers in that country, capable of embarrassing all Europe. This was composed of Don Pedro Gironne, duke of Ossuna and governor of Naples, the marquis de Bedmar, who was ambassador at Venice, and the marquis de Villa Franca, governor of Milan. The first of these under pretence of arming against the Turks, carried on a secret correspondence with them, at the same time that he held another equally dangerous with the marquis de Lesdiguières, the design of which was to seize the kingdom of Naples, and to render himself independent. The second conducted those dark projects that were to have ended in the destruction of the city and republic of Venice, if they had not been discovered and prevented. The third seemed to meditate the conquest of Savoy, and actually made himself master of the strong fortrefs of Vercell, by which means the duke was constrained to enter into an accommodation upon terms that were far from being agreeable to him. This, however, raised his character with the court of Madrid, who disavowed the conduct of the other two, and re-

A.D. 1617.

^b Le Vassor, Gregoire Leti, Histoire du Duc d'Ossone, Gonzales de Cespides, Mariana.

called the marquis de Bedmar immediately^l. In the East Indies the war continued between the Dutch and the Spaniards and Portuguese, subjects of the same crown. Don Juan de Ronquillo having, on the 15th of April, gained a signal advantage at sea, intelligence of his victory was no sooner received in Spain, than it was celebrated with great demonstrations of joy, the duke of Lerma pretending, upon this foundation, to take such measures as should effectually secure the Moluccas; in which, however, himself and his successors were exceedingly disappointed.

As soon as it was known at the court of Madrid that the duke of Savoy was inclined to peace, it was very quickly concluded, even upon such terms as were approved, if not dictated, by the court of France; and express orders were sent to the marquis de Villa Franca to carry this treaty punctually into execution. These orders he obeyed, though with all the solemnity of a Spaniard, obliging the duke to take always the first step in the setting prisoners at liberty, in disbanding troops, and in the restitution of places; but Charles gave himself no pain about that, and that he performed things honourably, though he would perform nothing but in his own way^k. The disputes with the Venetians were also composed. The eldest branch of the German line of the house of Austria being on the point of failing in the emperor Matthias, his catholic majesty, in order to support the grandeur of the family, consented to a general renunciation of all his rights to the succession of any part of the dominions belonging to that branch. But we must now pass to the domestic concerns of his catholic majesty, and relate as succinctly as we can the fall of the duke of Lerma, who had hitherto governed his vast dominions with unrestrained authority, the king seeming to have no other will than that of complying with his minister.

It is generally agreed, that consummate prudence, rather than any sublimity of genius, was the characteristic of the duke of Lerma. It was this that rendered his administration peaceable and stable, and yet it is owing to this that he fell at last into disgrace. He discerned clearly, that the abilities of the duke of Uzeda his son were below the

His catholic majesty renounces his claim to the succession of Austria, in favour of Ferdinand.

The measures taken by the duke of Lerma, to secure his administration, prove ineffectual.

^l Historia della Repubblica Veneta di Batt Nani. de Cespidis, Le Vassior.

^k Gonfales

level of his own, but he had the manners and the polish of a court; he therefore intended that he should succeed him as the king's favourite, and he instructed him so well, and managed his design with such address, that his project succeeded beyond his wish. His aim was, that his son should manage the court; but, for the cabinet, he made choice of his sister's son, the count de Lemos, a man of true parts, and every way fit for the great employment for which he was intended. But as he was himself in no hurry to retire, he placed the count de Lemos in the bed-chamber of the prince, that he might contemplate the rising sun, and rise with it. In this scheme too he succeeded, for the count de Lemos gained the affections of his young master in a supreme degree. The duke's foresight went still further; he cast his eyes upon Lewis Aliaga, a monk, of whose probity he had a great opinion, whom he made the king's confessor. The consequence of all his care and skill was, that his son and the priest conspired against him, and became his bitterest enemies: the duke of Uzeda could not pardon the contempt his father had shewn of his talents; the priest thought he had more to expect from a minister of his own making, than from the minister who had made him. The count de Lemos might have secured himself at least, if he would have joined in this scene of ingratitude, but he disdained it: he loved, he revered his uncle, and therefore removing him was the first step towards the fall of that great minister. The king signified to the count, that he should not pass his evenings at the prince's bed-side; and, his commands not being very punctually obeyed, he was forbid his presence, and removed from his employment¹.

He is disgraced, and for his own security, obtains a hat from the pope.

The duke de Uzeda, and the confessor, as is usual in courts, cloathing their private views with the specious pretence of concern for the public, carried all the popular complaints against the duke of Lerma into the king's closet; in consequence of which behaviour, a committee, or, as they call it in Spain, a junta, was appointed to consider of the state of the nation; and they made a long and laboured report, in the very first paragraph of which they told the king, that Spain was on the point of falling to the ground, and ascribed all these misfortunes to the duke of Lerma and his administration; and yet a very able and a

¹ Gonfales de Cespides

very impartial judge assures us, that there never was a favourite more mild and moderate than this duke; and that, while he held the reins of government, the public resembled his private conduct; it had not in it any thing striking or surprising, but it was without war, without taxes, and without oppression. The king, however, upon this report, by a short letter, dismissed the duke from his employments; and he retired on the 4th of October^m. He made some struggles to remain, that were unworthy of so great a man; but his prudence in procuring a hat from the pope a little before his disgrace, though he did not receive it till afterwards, was very commendable, since it covered him from those pursuits which the malice of his enemies, who had gone so far, would otherwise have carried fartherⁿ. On the 7th of December, the same year, died his brother the cardinal archbishop of Toledo suddenly, and, as some think, of the grief conceived at his brother's disgrace, which he had laboured all that was in his power to prevent. The king determined immediately to give important preferment to the infant Don Ferdinand; but as that prince was very young, this design met with great opposition at the court of Rome; and it was not without a long and troublesome negotiation that it was at length brought to bear. The duke de Uzeda, who succeeded his father, advised the king to shew himself to his subjects; and proposed, in hopes it would render his administration popular, that he should make a tour into Portugal, as the most effectual means of quieting the discontents of that nation, which were both general and great, occasioned chiefly by the degeneracy of their nobility, who consumed in folly and luxury the vast revenues derived to them from the virtue and industry of their ancestors, which this visit of the king's was much more likely to increase than to cure.

A.D 1618.

In a short time after the disgrace of the duke of Lerma, his favourite Don Rodrigo Calderona, count of Oliva, was seized and imprisoned. The fortune, as well as the fate of this man, was very extraordinary. He was the son of a poor soldier, and of a Flemish woman, neither of whom would ever have been heard of but for this son of their's, who was a youth of pregnant parts; the duke, then marquis of Denia, took him under his protection, and after-

The rise, fortune, and fall of Don Rodrigo Calderona, favourite to the duke of Lerma.

^m Anecdotes du Ministère du Compté Duc d'Olivarez, Historia della Republica Veneta di Batt Nani, Vittorio Siri, Memorie ricondite. ⁿ Gonfales de Cespides, Geddes's Miscellaneous Tracts, Le Vassor.

wards into his favour. In the beginning of his fortunes, the young man was ashamed of his birth, and would have disowned his father; but he quickly effaced this fault, by receiving him into his house, and treating him with the utmost respect and veneration. It has been remarked, as peculiar to the duke of Lerma, that he advanced his favourite as high as if he had been the favourite of a king: for he not only enabled him to raise an estate of an hundred thousand crowns a year, and procured him titles and honours, but he even allowed him to hope for a viceroyalty. These favours could not fail of exciting envy, which the haughtiness and impetuosity of his temper quickly swelled into malice, according to the prediction of his father, who frequently told him, that, his bark having so little ballast, if he continued to crowd sail at that rate, it would be overfet by the first storm. The death of the queen, and of prince Philip Emanuel of Savoy, with many other enormous offences, were charged upon him as the instrument of his master; but, after these accusations had been sifted for two years, they were found to have nothing in them. However, he was continued in prison, and, as we shall see hereafter, became the victim of that resentment which the abuse of his master's kindness had excited.

His majesty makes a tour into Portugal, and a public entry into Lisbon.

On the 22d of April the king Don Philip set out from Madrid, with the prince his son and the infanta Donna Maria, for Portugal, and, from the hour he entered that kingdom, saw nothing but splendor, joy, and obsequiousness. On the feast of St. Peter, he made his public entry into the city of Lisbon, where the river was covered with vessels of all sorts, decorated with the most glaring and costly magnificence. There were no less than thirty-two arches of triumph in the streets; and such an amazing display of gold and jewels, that the king was obliged to prolong this shew for two days, that he might have time to behold the whole. He pleased the Portuguese by his courteous and affable behaviour, and by saying, that he never thought himself so great a king before. He caused an assembly of the states to be held, in which the nobility swore to his son as heir apparent, and he likewise swore to maintain their privileges, and to govern according to law. He remained at Lisbon for some months; and when he left Portugal, to return into Spain, he seemed to do it with reluctance. Yet the nation in general was not satisfied with his behaviour; for he did not appear so much in public as they desired, neither did he give so explicit an answer to

their demands as they expected. The first cause of their dissatisfaction was in reality owing to a declining state of health; and the other to the influence of his new ministers, who were much afraid that the Portuguese would insinuate themselves into his affections. In representing their grievances, they more than once insinuated to the king, that they did not in the least impute them to his majesty, but to those who had his ear, and who abused that confidence which he placed in them; circumstances that contributed not a little to heighten that distemper which the king had upon him, and which, in fact, was a deep melancholy, occasioned by the memorial against the duke of Lerma, and which had opened the king's eyes with respect to the miseries of his subjects, and to his own incapacity of relieving them^p.

The affairs of Europe, which had been tolerably serene during this reign, began now to be overcast. The affairs of the empire were fallen into great confusion; the Bohemians had thrown off the yoke, and elected Frederick prince Palatine for their king^q; even the Austrians wavered in their fidelity, and Ferdinand found himself besieged without and within Vienna. In short, the assistance of Spain, which had always been expedient, was now necessary, to the German branch of the Austrian family; and that which had been an uneasy burden became a heavy load; and, what rendered it the heavier, it could not be laid down. In Italy the duke of Feria, who was sent to replace the marquis of Villa Franca in the government of Milan, found a league upon the carpet for circumscribing the power of the Spaniards; and, to defeat this, he set on foot such intrigues in Switzerland, as rendered his nation more odious and more insupportable to the Italians than ever^r. The designs also of the duke of Ossuna became so apparent, and the nature of his connections so generally known, that the only question at Madrid was, not whether he should be removed (for in that all the ministers agreed); but whether he would submit to be removed, or how another governor should be introduced, in case he was not disposed to give him place^s. The Turks also had a powerful fleet at sea, which heightened the perplexity of this scene not a little. The honour of the queen of Spain

A.D. 1619.

Embarrassed state of affairs, by which the Spanish ministry is much perplexed.

^p Gonfales de Cespides, Faria y Sousa. ^q Wilson's History of King James I. ^r Historia della Republica de Veneta, di Batt. Nani. Gonfales de Cespides. ^s Greg. Leti Histoire du Duc d'Ossone.

required her having a fleet at sea likewise; but prince Philibert of Savoy, who commanded it, following his instructions very punctually, fought with great earnestness an opportunity, and, with equal dexterity, avoided fighting when he had found it.

All with spirit, and find their efforts attended with considerable success.

As the Spanish ministers found the concerns of the monarchy in such a situation, that, without exerting themselves, they must necessarily fall into confusion, a spirit of vigour appeared, very unusual in their councils. Under colour of assisting the archduke Albert, great supplies were sent into Germany, and a numerous body of veteran troops under the Marquis Spinola, who acted, however, in the name of that prince, and not of the king of Spain; which timely succours enabled Ferdinand to get the better of his competitor, and to over-run his dominions[†]. In order to assist him still farther, the old treaty of marriage was revived with the king of England, and mighty advantages were proposed to recommend the match of the infanta Donna Maria with Charles prince of Wales; an alliance which king James had no one reason to wish; by which Spain alone could have been a gainer, and in which they were, notwithstanding, from first to last, but very insincere[‡]. The duke of Feria was encouraged and applauded for his conduct; and this applause induced him to spirit up the popish inhabitants of the Valteline to revolt from the Grisons, and, which was much worse, to massacre the protestants. The Spaniards, as protectors of the catholic religion, erected several forts in that country, not so much to serve the interest of their new allies as their own. The situation of this narrow track rendered it of infinite importance, as it facilitated the correspondence between the two branches of the house of Austria, shut the Swiss out of Italy, kept the Venetians in awe, and perfected the plan laid down by the count de Fuentes for holding the Italian princes and states in a dependence that differed very little from subjection[§]. Cardinal Francis Borgia being appointed viceroy of Naples, was introduced with silence and secrecy into the castle, which is one of the three fortresses that commands the capital, and, by the thunder of the cannon from thence, the duke of Ossuna had the first notice that his successor was arrived. He was a man of courage and

A. D. 1620.

[†] Franc. Castagnini della Vita del Principe Filiberto di Savoia.

[‡] Wilson's History of K. James I.

[§] Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels.

* Hist. della Repubblica de Veneta, di Batt Nani.

abilities,

abilities, as well as boundless ambition; but this stroke so surprised him, that, though he made some overtures, he was afraid to venture upon open resistance; and therefore resigned, though with a bad grace, what it was not in his power to keep¹. The cardinal infant Don Ferdinand, the consent of the pope being at last obtained, took this year possession of the see of Toledo by proxy, the primacy of Spain being committed to a child of ten years old; which, whatever pleasure it might give the king as a father, could not be well reconciled to that character of which alone he seemed ambitious, of being esteemed the most pious prince of his time².

Whatever satisfaction might result to the ministers from the success of the last year, they were far from reviving, as it was hoped they might, the spirits of the king. He grew worse in the winter, and, at the approach of the spring, he became so weak, that he clearly perceived he could not last long. He now expressed a great concern for that indolence and inapplication which had been the disgrace of his reign, which his father had predicted, and to which in truth he had contributed by an austere education, which this very prince had copied in regard to his own son. He disapproved the seizing the Valteline, and gave orders upon his death-bed that it should be restored. In imitation of his father, he left in writing some notes and observations for the use of his son; but he left him, what made a stronger impression, his example of never being his own master, into which situation he was already fallen, and in which he continued to his life's end. The king was given over by his physicians near thirty days before he died, a circumstance which occasioned a variety of intrigues. Some of his ministers, either repenting of what was past, or through fear of what was to come, desired him to recall the duke of Lerma; to which measure he readily consented. Upon this occasion the count de Olivares, who was the prince's favourite, put his master upon a very extraordinary and a very hazardous action; for he engaged him to send an order to the duke of Lerma, requiring him to return to his own house as soon as it came to his hands, and wherever it might find him. This, though he might have declined it, the duke obeyed, saying, with his usual prudence, that he was glad to be honoured with the first order of his master, that he might give his subjects an

Death of Philip III. and circumstances attending it.

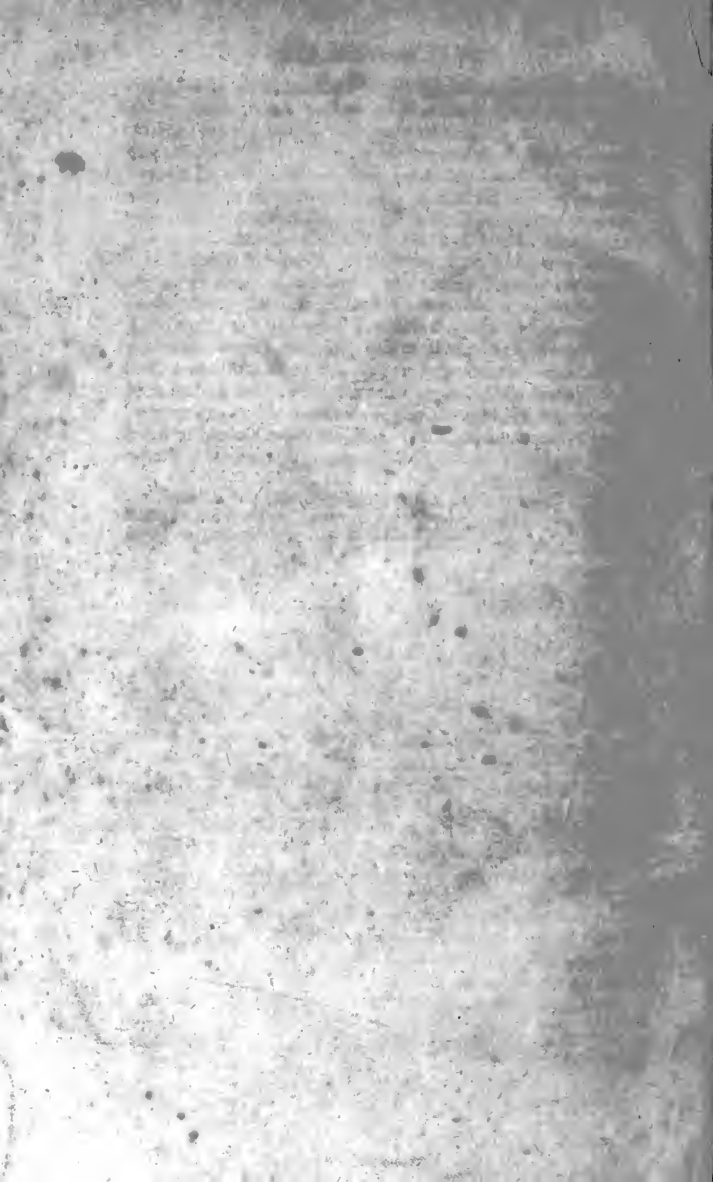
¹ Greg. Leti Histoire du Duc d' Ossone, Cespides.

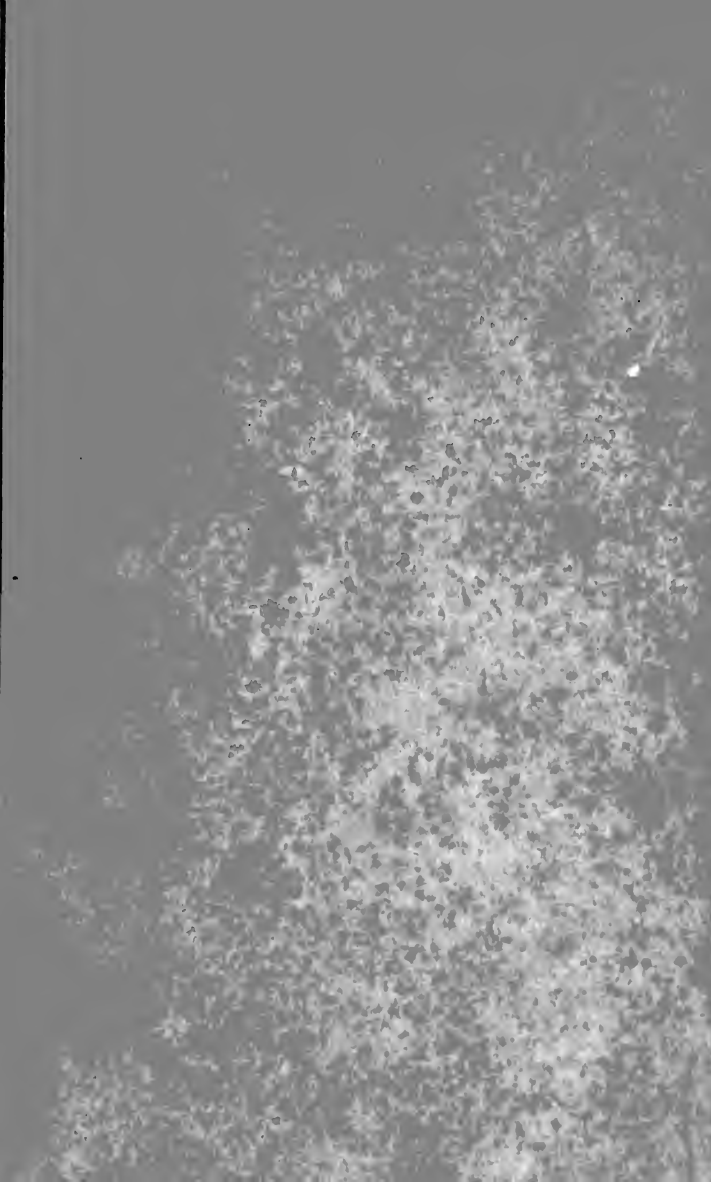
² Gonzalez de

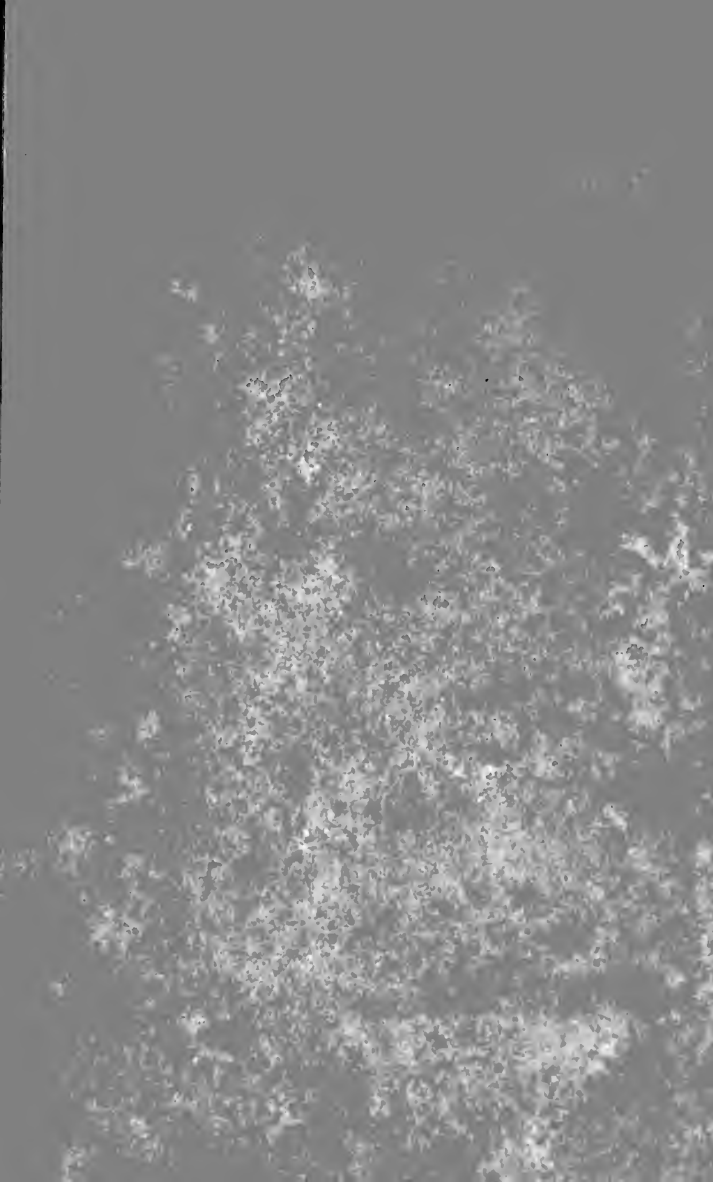
early lesson of submission to all his commands^a. Philip III. expired in his palace at Madrid, on the last day of March, in the forty-third year of his age, and in the twenty-third of his reign. He expressed much less firmness in his last moments than his father had done; which was so much the more strange, as his life was incomparably more innocent, since an indolent love of quiet was his great, and almost only fault. He had by his queen the archduchess Margaret of Austria, seven children, four sons and three daughters. Of these, Philip, who succeeded him, the infant Don Carlos, the cardinal infant Ferdinand, the queen of France, the infanta Donna Maria, who was afterwards queen of Hungary, survived him; but, notwithstanding this numerous posterity, he is said to have had no better prospect with regard to his family than in reference to his dominions, the thoughts of which embittered his last moments, and occasioned some complaints, which it is needless to repeat^b.

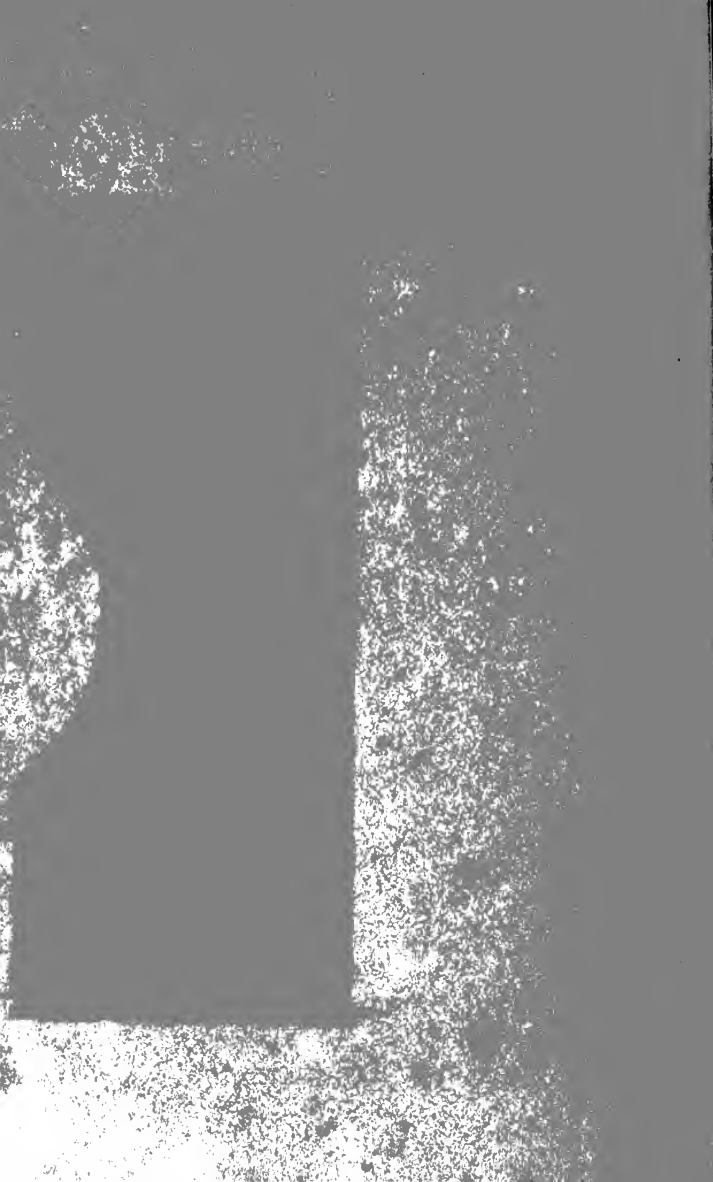
^a Anecdotes du Ministère de Conte Duc de Olivares. ^b Historia della Republica Veneta, di Batt. Nani. Faria y Sousa, Le Vassor, Don Juan Vitrian, Amelot de la Houssaie.

END OF THE SEVENTEENTH VOLUME.









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